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Ariaka

BY

PROF. D. C. SIRCAR, *Calcutta University*

The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,* composed in the eighth decade of the first century A.D.,[1] says, "Beyond the Gulf of Baraka (Dvārakā in Kathiawar) is that of Barygaza (Bharukaccha, Bharoch or Broach on the mouth of the Narmadā in Southern Gujarat) and the coast of the country of Ariaka which is the beginning of the kingdom of Mambarus (apparently a Śaka king) and of all India. That part of it (the kingdom of Mambarus) lying inland and adjoining Skythia (Śakasthāna in the lower valley of the Indus) is called Abiria (Ābhīra country), but the coast is called Syrastrene (Surāṣṭra or Kathiawar)."[2]

There is difference among scholars on the identification of the land called Ariaka. Lassen took it to be a mistake for *Larika* standing for Lāṭa (the Nausari-Broach region of South Gujarat); while Bhagwanlal Indraji considered it to be the same as Aparāntikā (Aparānta or the Northern Konkan about the Thana District).[3] The separate mention of both Ariake and Larike in the Geography of Ptolemy (composed about the middle of the second

1. Cf. Smith, *EHI,* 1924, p. 245, note 1. The reference in the *Periplus* (Schoff's trans., p. 42) to 'Ozene, formerly a royal capital' shows that the work had been composed before Caṣṭana (Tiastenes) made Ozene (Ujjayinī in West Malwa) his capital in the second quarter of the century A.D. since it appears to have remained the capital of Caṣṭana's descendants till their overthrow by Candragupta II about the close of the fourth century A.D.

2. Schoff's trans., p. 39. The *Periplus* also says, "In these places there remain even in the present time signs of the expedition of Alexander, such as ancient shrines, walls of forts and great wells." These antiquities, probably seen by the author himself, may be associated with Alexander's stay in the land of the lower Indus for some months waiting for the Etesian winds for the dispatch of a part of his forces under Nearkhus by the sea before his own departure from India with the remainder of the army by land in the year 324 B.C.

3. Schoff, *op.cit.,* pp. 174-75. Cf. Smith, *op.cit.,* pp. 108-09.

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century A.D.) on the basis of material collected a little earlier, however, makes it clear that *Ariaka* does not stand for *Larika*. The author of the *Periplus*, it appears, included Larika or Lāṭa in Ariaka which has to be identified with Aparānta, since Suppara (Sūrpāraka, the capital of Aparānta) was located in Ariaka as we shall see below.

Ptolemy first gives the places in Syrastrene (Kathiawar), next those in Larike (Southern Gujarat) and then those of Ariake which he calls 'Ariake of the Sadenoi'.[4] In the land of Larike, he locates the mouth of the river Mophis (Mahī) and, on the Gulf of Barygaza in the same country (as we shall see later), the mouth of the Namades (Narmadā) and a locality called Nausaripa (Navasārikā, modern Nausari in the Surat District). Larike is therefore undoubtedly the same as Lāṭa. On the other hand, the geographer locates in the coast of Ariake the places called Souppara (Sūrpāraka, modern Sopara in the Thana District) and Semyla (modern Chaul in the same District, 23 miles to the south of Bombay).[5] This Ariake is no doubt identical with Aparānta or the Thana region (Northern Konkan).

The *Periplus* seems to include Ariaka, comprising Ptolemy's Larike or Lāṭa, in the kingdom of Mambarus who had his capital at Minnagara near Barygaza. Thus about 80 A.D., both Lāṭa and Aparānta appear to have formed parts of the Śaka kingdom of Western India. The same state continued till the time of the Kṣaharāta-Śaka ruler Nahapāna (119-24 A.D.) who ruled over wide areas of Western India as far as the Nasik-Poona region of Maharashtra in the south. There is an early Jain tradition that Nahapāna had his capital at Bharukaccha which was repeatedly attacked by Śātavāhana king of Pratiṣṭhāna (i.e. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, c. 106-30 A.D.), who ultimately conquered it.[6] The partial destruction of Bharukaccha as a result of this struggle may

4. *La Geographie de Ptolemee: L'Inde* (VII. 1-4), ed. Renou, pp. 3-4 (Section 6).

5. Hippokoura (116°15′—16°30′) in Ariake seems to be different from Hippokoura (119°45′—19°30′) described elsewhere (*op.cit.*, p. 36, Section 83) as the capital of Baleokouros, usually identified with Viḷivāyakura of the Kolhapur coins.

6. Cf. *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, p. 288.

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have led the next Śaka ruler Caṣṭana (Tiastenes) to make Ujjayinī (Ozene) his headquarters, as we learn from Ptolemy's Geography.

It will be seen that, while the *Periplus* includes Ariaka in the kingdom of Mambarus, Ptolemy mentions Ariake as the land of the Sadenoi and apparently includes Larike in the kingdom of Caṣṭana. A second section in Ptolemy's Geography says that, in the country of Larike, the market town of Barygaza lay to the west of the river Namades (Narmadā) while, among the towns lying to the east of that river, there was Ozene (Ujjayinī), the capital of Tiastenes (Caṣṭana).[7]

Who were the Sadenoi occupying Ariake when the Kārdamaka-Śaka ruler Caṣṭana was holding Larike in the forties of the second century A.D.? That they were no other than the Śātavāhanas appears to be clear from a third section of Ptolemy's Geography wherein Baithana (Pratiṣṭhāna on the Godāvarī in the Aurangabad District of Maharashtra), capital of Siriptolemaios (Śrī-Puḷumāvi who was the son of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and ruled in c. 130-59 A.D.), and the town of Tagara (modern Ter in the Osmanabad District of Maharashtra) are located in the same country to the west of the river Bendas.[8]

The Śātavāhana occupation of Aparānta before the Śaka conquest of Western India is referred to in the *Periplus* which says, "The market-towns of this region are, in order, after Barygaza: Suppara (Sūrpāraka, Sopārā) and the city of Kalliena (Kalyāṇ in the Thana District, 33 miles north-east of Bombay) which in the time of the elder Saraganus (an early Śātavāhana king named Śātakarṇi) became a lawful market-town; but since it came into the possession of Sandanes (probably a governor or predecessor of Mambarus), the port is much obstructed, and Greek

7. Renou, *op.cit.*, pp. 28-29 (Section 63). Although Larike thus seems to have comprised the Ujjayinī region, Nasika given here as a town in Larike cannot be the modern Nasik in Maharashtra especially because the Kārdamaka-Śakas could not recover the Nasik-Poona region from the Śātavāhanas.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 35 (Section 82).

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ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard."[9]

About 124 A.D., the later Śātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (c. 106-30 A.D.) overthrew the Kṣaharāta-Śaka ruler Nahapāna and not only occupied the Nasik-Poona region and Northern Konkan (Aparānta), but even succeeded in annexing Malwa (Ākara and Avanti) and Kathiawar (Surāṣṭra).[10] But Gautamīputra is known to have lost much of the conquered territory to the Kārdamaka-Śakas before his death about 130 A.D. In that year, the dominions of Kārdamaka Caṣṭana and his grandson Rudradāman (who ruled jointly with his grandfather as a sub-king) included Kutch, while the Junagadh inscription (150 A.D.) states that Rudradāman twice defeated Śātakarṇi (Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi) the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, though the latter was not extirpated because of the closeness of relations between the two rulers. The inscription further says that Aparānta and the other districts in the northern part of Gautamīputra's empire were then in the possession of the Kārdamaka-Śakas.[11]

As regards the closeness of relations between Gautāmīputra Śātakarṇi and Rudradāman, we know that the former's younger son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi married the latter's daughter.[12] The reference to two wars between Rudradāman (who was originally a sub-king under his grandfather Caṣṭana) and Gautamīputra may suggest that there were two stages in the reconquest of the northern districts of Gautamīputra's kingdom by the Kārdamaka-Śakas. Probably the Malwa-Kathiawar area was conquered before the conquest of Aparānta and the neighbouring regions. The absence of any mention of Lāṭa in the list of territories in the possession either of Gautamīputra or of Rudradāman appears to suggest that it was included in the administrative unit of Aparānta as indicated by the statement of the *Periplus* referred to above.

The question now is whether the whole of Aparānta was reconquered by the Kārdamaka-Śakas as suggested by the Junagadh

9. Schoff, *op.cit.*, p. 43. Kalyāṇa is located in Aparānta in a Kanheri inscription (Lüders' List of Inscriptions, No. 1013.)

10. See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. Majumdar, p. 201.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

12. *Loc. cit.*

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inscription or parts of it still remained in the hands of Gautāmīputra and his successors as is indicated by Ptolemy's Geography. It has to be noted that epigraphic records of the Kārdamakas are conspicuous by their absence in the Nasik-Poona region and the Northern Konkan, while a number of inscriptions of the successors of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi have been discovered in the said areas. Thus we have the Nasik and Karle (Poona District) inscriptions of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (c. 130-59 A.D.), the Kanheri (Thana District) inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi (c. 159-66 A.D.), the Nasik and Kanheri inscriptions of Gautamīputra Yajña Śātakarṇi (c. 178-202 A.D.), etc., etc.[13] Formerly we had Śaka type silver coins of Yajña Śātakarṇi, which were apparently issued for circulation in areas previously under the Śakas and one of which was found at the base of the ruined Buddhist establishment at Sopara. This led to the belief that Yajña conquered Aparānta from the Kārdamaka-Śakas.[14] But coins of the same type issued by Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi have also been recently discovered.[15] Thus the Nasik, Poona and Thana Districts appear to have remained in the possession of Gautamīputra and his successors. Ptolemy's representation of Ariake as the land of the Sadenoi (Śātavāhanas) is therefore justifiable, while his inclusion of Larike (comprised in Ariaka according to the author of the *Periplus* who, as we have seen, seems to be supported by the Śātavāhana and Śaka inscriptions) apparently in the kingdom of Tiastenes of Ozene shows that the northern part of the Ariaka of the *Periplus* (i.e Larike or Lāṭa) was reoccupied by the Śakas.

According to some scholars, Ptolemy distinguishes Ariake of the Sadenoi from Ariake of the Pirates, comprising the coast country towards the south stretching as far down as the country of Lymirike (Damirika of the *Periplus*, i.e. Tamiḷaka or Draviḍa) which seems to have included the land of the Keralaputra (the

13. See Rapson's *Catalogue of Coins*, pp. 1-liii; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol., XXXV, p. 250.

14. Rapson, *op.cit.*, p. cxxi.

15. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 247 ff.

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king of Kerala).[16] This extension of Aparanta in the south seems to be supported by Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 54-58) wherein the river Muralā is probably mentioned as the boundary between Kerala and Aparānta.[17]

16. S. N. Majumdar Sastri, *McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 45. Cf. the *Periplus* locating Tyndis, one of the first markets of Damirika, in the kingdom of Kerobothra (Schoff, *op.cit.*, p. 44).

17. Mallinātha, the South Indian commentator of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, regards the Muralā as a river in the Kerala country, while the South Indian product entitled *Avantīsundarīkathā* speaks of the sports of the Aparānta elephants in the waters of the Muralā cf. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 453 note 1).

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"India's Mississippi": The River Godavari Navigation Scheme, 1853-71

BY

PETER HARNETTY, PH.D. (Harvard)
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In their article on *The Imperialism of Free Trade,* Gallagher and Robinson established the connection between British overseas expansion and free trade policy in the mid-Victorian period. They argued that in both the formal and informal dependencies in these years, there was much effort to open continental interiors, extend British influence inland from the ports, and develop the hinterlands in order to provide raw materials for British industry.[1] This hypothesis can be illustrated by reference to India which, as part of the formal empire, offered full scope for the free traders, who persistently advocated internal development of the country through the promotion of communications and public works. This policy was inspired by the hope of obtaining increased supplies of Indian cotton, thereby lessening Lancashire's dependence on the Southern States of America and lowering the price of its raw material.[2] The present article examines one of the major public works projects undertaken for this purpose in India in the middle of the nineteenth century — the River Godavari navigation scheme.

The Godavari rises in Western India, fifty miles from the sea, and flows for nine hundred miles across the Deccan in a south-easterly direction, reaching the Bay of Bengal through a broad delta. With its tributaries, it forms a river network which, a century ago, seemed to provide a parallel with the Mississippi as a waterway which would open the inaccessible interior of a sub-continent and

1. John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., VI (1953), 1-15.

2. R. J. Moore, "Imperialism and 'Free Trade' Policy in India, 1853-54," *ibid.*, 2nd ser., XVII (1964), 135-36.

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provide an outlet for its raw materials. But the Godavari possessed certain features which greatly reduced its potential as a trade artery. Of the 2610 miles of the Godavari river system, only 473 miles were navigable, and even this portion was not naturally navigable for more than five months of the year. The rivers swelled rapidly and immensely when the monsoon rains commenced, and soon after they ceased they shrank either into rapids running among the rocks, or into streamlets running over the sands. Though the rivers rose in hill ranges, none of the hills were of great height and, like the plains, were arid for eight months of the year. In addition, navigation was impeded by three major obstructions in the river bed. The first was at Sinteral, 140 miles from the sea. It consisted of two masses of rock, together about six miles long and with a fall over that distance of seventy feet. There was a second barrier at Enchampilly, seventy miles further upstream, where the river passed over two more masses of rock for eleven miles, with a fall of forty-seven feet. Above that point, on a tributary called the Pranhita, was the third barrier. It consisted of rock falls more severe than the other two, extending for more than thirty-five miles. These characteristics of climate and geology seriously detracted from the value of a river system which, on a map, presented such a promising appearance. In the end, they were to prove fatal to plans for developing the Godavari as a navigable waterway.

The idea of developing the Godavari, and providing cheap water transport to the sea for the cotton of Nagpur and Berar, was first proposed by Colonel Arthur Cotton of the Madras Engineers. These districts of Central India were not then part of British territory, but they were secured in 1853 by Lord Dalhousie, who was well aware of their importance as a source of raw material for Lancashire.[3] As soon as Nagpur and Berar came under British control, exploration of the Godavari began and, in December 1853, Cotton proposed a scheme for improving navigation on the river

3. "Especially I wish to draw to your attention the bearing wh. the occupation of Nagpore and previously of Berar have upon your manufacturing difficulty, the supply of raw cotton." Dalhousie to Wood, 4 March 1854, Halifax Collection (India Office Library, MSS. Eur. F. 78), India Board, Correspondence, India, bundle 18.

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at an estimated cost of Rs. 56,717 (£ 5,670). This scheme was not immediately accepted but, in 1854, a new survey was made and as a result the Madras Government authorized the expenditure of Rs. 106,717 for a further survey and for execution of the improvement works recommended by Cotton. It would not ordinarily have considered such a project but did so in this case because of "the peculiar circumstances of this country which renders it sometimes necessary for the Government to take the initiative in such matters."[4] In London, the President of the Board of Control, Sir Charles Wood, agreed. He was anxious to do everything he could to encourage cotton cultivation in India and was under strong pressure to do so by free trade members of Parliament. Wood was particularly interested in the Godavari and predicted in the House of Commons in August 1854 that if the river proved navigable, it might open up one of the greatest cotton districts in India and enable cotton to be secured at a cheaper rate than any railway.[5]

The survey and improvement works were carried out in 1855 by Lieutenant F. T. Haig, one of Cotton's assistants. Haig tried to improve navigation in the river according to the scheme prepared by Cotton. He blasted rocks at the first two barriers so as to open a channel between them but he did not secure any improvement in the navigation. He therefore concluded that it would be preferable to circumvent the barriers by means of canals with locks, and to construct dams at the barriers so as to maintain a uniform level of water between them. In May 1856, Haig submitted proposals for canals and dams at all three barriers and for ancillary works in the river bed. He estimated that for an outlay of Rs. 2,925,000 (£ 292,500), he could provide navigation for a distance of 473 miles from the sea. This waterway would be open for large steamers of up to six feet draught for about seven months of the year, and for lighter boats for eight or nine

4. Government of Madras to Court of Directors, Letter No. 18 (Public Works), 4 Dec. 1855.

5. 3 *Hansard* 135: 1454 (8 Aug. 1854). J. G. Phillimore, of the Indian Reform Society, stressed in the same debate that if the Godavari was made available for 500 miles, it would do more for India than any other public works policy and would provide cotton at a cheaper cost than America could supply it. *Ibid.*, 1475. See also Moore, *op.cit.*, 143-44.

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months.[6] Haig also submitted a rough scheme for year-round navigation, to be achieved by constructing storage reservoirs at the heads of various rivers. These reservoirs would supply enough water for river navigation during the dry season, when the natural supply in the river was insufficient. He estimated that they would cost an additional Rs. 1,600,000. Finally, pending execution of either of these two major projects, Haig proposed to open the Godavari for immediate use by connecting the navigable portions of the river by means of inexpensive roads. This could be done at a capital cost of only Rs. 35,000, with an additional charge of Rs. 5,760 a year for portage establishments.

The Madras Government was impressed by Haig's plans. It was quite satisfied that the river could be opened at least for monsoon navigation and it was enthusiastic over the economic and social benefits that would result. The obvious economic advantage would be the export of cotton to England at a rate that would render her independent of the United States. The social advantage would be the spread of civilization among the wild inhabitants of the interior, a prospect at which the Government waxed positively lyrical:

> The British Nation has, under Providence, been the means of reclaiming large tracts of the habitable Globe, and of civilizing their rude inhabitants, the Glorious career is still open to them, and in no quarter is the good to be done more certain, or the means of its accomplishment more obvious, than in extending our intercourse with the inhabitants of the Godavery valley, by the improvement of the navigation of the river.[7]

6. F. T. Haig, *Report on the Navigability of the River Godavari and Some of its Affluents* (Madras, 1856), 31.

7. Madras, P. W. Consultations, 19 May 1857, No. 961. Haig's own enthusiasm for the Godavari scheme seems to have been strongly motivated by the "civilizing mission." He had developed strong religious feelings as a youth. Soon after he began work on the Godavari scheme, whose presiding genius was Arthur Cotton, he "experienced that great change of attitude towards God which our Blessed Lord described as being 'born again'." *Memories of the Life of General F. T. Haig by His Wife* (London, 1902), 9. In 1857, during the early stages of the navigation project, Haig was preaching to his workpeople and to the native villagers. In 1861, he persuaded the Church Missionary Society to establish a mission on the Godavari. His wife states that despite the eventual abandonment of the navigation scheme, "in God's

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In more sober vein, the Madras Government considered it essential for Haig to visit Europe and America so that he could inspect river navigation works and gain experience in their operation before undertaking the Godavari scheme. It also proposed to shelve Haig's more ambitious plan for year-round navigation in favor of his scheme for opening navigation for part of the year only at a cost of £ 292,500.

These proposals were approved by the East India Company's Court of Directors. The Court admitted the feasibility and desirability of Haig's plan, although the outbreak of the Mutiny in May 1857 delayed formal sanction until June 1858. The Home authorities then requested detailed plans from Haig, to be submitted as soon as he returned to India. When these plans were received the necessary funds could be allocated. Since the project would take many years to complete, the Court of Directors also favoured Haig's scheme for immediate opening of the Godavari by means of temporary works which could be executed cheaply in one year.[8] But the Government of India was more cautious. It believed that India's unfavorable financial condition in the wake of the Mutiny precluded large outlays on public works. It therefore turned down several requests from the Madras Government late in 1858 and early in 1859 for permission to carry out the temporary works.

In June 1859, Sir Charles Wood, who had shown keen interest in the Godavari scheme when President of the Board of Control from 1852 to 1855, became the Secretary of State for India. He was anxious to go ahead with the project and was being pressed to take action by the Manchester Cotton Supply Association, which strongly favoured the scheme and was highly critical of the Government of India and the Home Government for not having

providence the engineering work had been used to pave the way for His own blessed work of gathering the heathen into the Kingdom of Christ." *Op.cit.*, 29. Haig returned to the Godavari in 1881, after his retirement from government service, and spent a year in charge of a mission station. He later carried on missionary work in Arabia.

8. Court of Directors to Government of Madras, Despatch No. 8 (P.W.), 29 June 1858.

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proceeded with it.[9] On August 3, 1859 a deputation from the Association visited Wood at the India Office and urged him to take the necessary steps.[10] In India, the Governor of Madras, Sir Charles Trevelyan, was also an ardent supporter of the scheme. He stressed the superiority of water over rail transport and predicted that the opening of the Godavari would create a new trade of limitless extent. Trevelyan claimed that costs would be small compared with results achieved.[11] In October 1859 he asked the Secretary of State for permission to begin operations on the permanent works at the first barrier, even though Haig had not returned to India. The estimated cost of these works was Rs. 845,000 but since they would take three years to complete, expenditure in any one year would not exceed two or three lakhs.[12]

Wood was glad to give his sanction, subject to one condition. This was the conclusion of a satisfactory agreement with the Nizam of Hyderabad, in whose territory the first barrier lay. He suggested to the Government of India that the Nizam might be "influenced" to exchange, lease, or cede his territory on the left bank of the Godavari in return for compensation. Wood thought the moment was opportune for making such an arrangement with the

9. *Cotton Supply Reporter*, 1 June 1859.

10. *Ibid.*, 1 Dec. 1859.

11. Minute by Sir Charles Trevelyan, 15 Oct. 1859, encl. in Government of Madras to Secretary of State, Letter No. 51 (P.W.), 25 Sept. 1859. Trevelyan, with more foresight than he knew, drew a parallel between the Godavari navigation scheme and the navigation works on the river Shannon in Ireland where, although "the absence of trade and the introduction of railroads have prevented the realization of the results expected from this system of works, it is one of the most complete of its kind in existence." The same factors, absence of trade and the introduction of railways, were to contribute to the failure of the Godavari scheme. Soon after Trevelyan made this ill-fated prediction, the *Report on Railways in India to the End of* 1859 correctly forecast that the penetration of Berar by the railway would tap the cotton resources of that region. See *Parliamentary Papers*, LII (1860), No. 2669, p. 47. (A great deal of the official correspondence on the Godavari project between 1860 and 1868 may be found in the P.P. as follows: XL (1862), Nos. 55 and 453; XLII (1864), No. 248; and L (1867-68), No. 201.)

12. Government of Madras to Secretary of State, Letter No. 56 (P.W.), 26 Oct. 1859. A lakh of rupees, or Rs. 100,000, was the equivalent of £10,000,

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Nizam, since the British Government wished to confer honours on him for his loyalty to British interests during the Mutiny.[13]

Negotiations with the Nizam were not concluded until November 1860. The Government of India, despite its financial difficulties,[14] then made a special grant of three lakhs of rupees to Madras to enable it to make an immediate start on the first barrier works. It promised to allot a further two lakhs for Godavari operations during the financial year beginning on May 1, 1861 and told the local government to match this sum from provincial funds by restricting its expenditure on other works. These arrangements led to an indignant protest from the Madras Government, which expected the Godavari project to be financed entirely from imperial funds. Moreover, it was less enthusiastic than hitherto over the commercial possibilities of the Godavari waterway. It had tried to encourage traffic on the river by sending government stores destined for the interior by the water route. The results were disappointing. In 1859-60, it despatched 1347 tons of goods from the coast to the interior at a cost of Rs. 300,000. This was Rs. 182,000 more than it would have cost to transport the same goods by land. In 1860-61 results were equally disappointing and the experiment was then abandoned.[15]

13. Secretary of State to Government of India, Despatch No. 8 (P.W.), 26 Jan. 1860.

14. The Government of India's accumulated deficits for the four years from 1857-58 to 1860-61 amounted to £ 37,367,000. See 3 *Hansard* 168: 449 (17 July 1862). It had been obliged to raise large loans in India and England to tide itself over its difficulties, and had also raised the import duties, including the duties on cotton piece goods and yarns. This led to immediate protests from Lancashire and to sustained pressure by the cotton interests to secure a reduction in the cotton duties. See P. Harnetty, "The Imperialism of Free Trade: Lancashire and the Indian Cotton Duties, 1859-1862," *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., XVIII (1965), 109-25. Thus while Lancashire expected the Government of India to spend large sums of the Godavari navigation scheme, which was designed to stimulate the export of Indian cotton to England, it opposed any move to increase government revenues by an increased duty on imports of Lancashire cotton goods.

15. Government of Madras to Secretary of State, Letters No. 45, 70, 12, and 64, 25 June and 2 Nov. 1860, and 4 March and 13 Aug. 1861. It is also worth noting that Sir Charles Trevelyan, a great protagonist of the Godavari project, was dismissed as Governor of Madras in June 1860.

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In view of the financial problem, the Madras Government revived an earlier proposal to turn the Godavari project over to private enterprise.[16] Lord Stanley had voted such a proposal in February 1859, when he was Secretary of State for India.[17] In May 1860, a fresh scheme was put forward by a group which included J. B. Smith, the member of Parliament for Stockport, whose ardent espousal of the Godavari navigation scheme was to earn him the title of "Godavari Smith."[18] This group stressed the demands being made in Lancashire for the removal of obstacles to navigation in the Godavari in order to stimulate cotton cultivation in Central India. They feared that the financial difficulties of the Government of India might prevent it from vigorously prosecuting the works sanctioned by the late Court of Directors in 1858. They offered to execute all the works currently planned on the Godavari and to open a considerable portion of the river within two years. In return, their proposed Company would pay £ 300,000 into the the Home Treasury as a loan on which it asked a guaranteed interest of five per cent. It also expected to receive the right to levy tolls on the waterway and to have the exclusive right to maintain steamers on the river for at least twenty-five years.[19]

At first, the Secretary of State rejected this proposal since he was opposed to any extension of the guarantee system in India. But the strain on India's finance in 1860, coupled with the looming crisis in America and the possibility that the supply of cotton from the Southern States would be interrupted, caused him to reconsider. Early in 1861, Wood was hopeful that, stimulated by the threat to the American cotton supply, a private Company would soon be formed in England to develop the Godavari. He was willing to allow such a company to construct certain works and levy a toll on any vessels using them. He was not prepared

16. Government of Madras to Secretary of State, Letter No. 77 (P.W.), 6 Dec. 1860.

17. India Office, Minutes of the Council of India, II, 258, 16 Feb. 1859.

18. *Cotton Supply Reporter*, 1 July 1865. In his earlier career, Smith's work in the campaign to repeal the corn laws had earned him the title of "Corn Law Smith."

19. Secretary of State to Government of India, Despatch No. 50 (P.W.), 6 July 1860. The Government of India replied on 27 Dec. that it also favoured development of the Godavari by private enterprise,

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to let a private company have a monopoly of navigation although he would give it a long-term contract for the conveyance of government stores.[20] But this hope was short-lived. In February, Wood interviewed half a dozen of the leading cotton manufacturers who were behind the scheme and found that they were not, after all, prepared to do anything. John Bright tried to put pressure on them but without success. Wood reluctantly concluded that private enterprise could not be counted on to develop the Godavari.[21]

With no hope of private enterprise entering the field, the Madras Government took a glum view of prospects. In February 1861, Sir William Denison, who was an engineer by training, became the Governor of Madras. After examining the plans for the Godavari project, Denison concluded that the river could not be opened to navigation for the sum estimated by Haig. He thought it wiser to delay extensive operations until detailed plans and estimates were drawn up, and in the meantime give priority to Haig's subsidiary scheme for connecting the navigable reaches of the river by means of inexpensive roads. Denison was particularly concerned about the amount of traffic that might be expected to use the Godavari, the great expense of the project, the time it would take to complete, and the claims of other public works projects in the Presidency.[22] The outbreak of civil war in the United States gave him an additional argument in favour of going ahead with the temporary works, namely, that by concentrating the whole available labour force on the smaller project, there would be a reasonable assurance that the cotton crop of the current year (1861-62) would be brought down the river as soon as the freshes in June 1862 made the river navigable. This would also satisfy the requirements of the Government of India, laid down in a policy

20. Wood to Canning, 23 Jan. 1861, Halifax Collection, India Office, Letter Books, VI, 78.

21. Wood to Canning, 26 Feb. 1861, and to W. A. Morehead, Acting-Governor of Madras, 26 Feb. 1861, *ibid.*, VI, 194 and 224. Wood said that the state of the money market, with the bank rate at 8 per cent., discouraged the promoters.

22. Sir William Denison, *Varieties of Viceregal Life*, 2 Vols. (London, 1870), II, 84; Government of Madras to Government of India, No. 1136, 21 June 1861, and to Secretary of State, Letter No. 57 (P.W.), 21 June 1861.

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statement of February 28, 1861, that any proposals from local governments to stimulate the production and export of cotton must relate to the 1861-62 season. This specifically excluded long-term projects such as railway or canal construction.[23]

The Government of India was displeased by Denison's attitude. It considered that the promotion of internal communications to stimulate the supply of cotton to Great Britain was now of critical importance. In addition, the Secretary of State was urging a start to the Godavari scheme. It was not therefore prepared to accept any check to operations. On the contrary, to ensure more rapid progress, it allocated a further two lakhs for work at the first barrier during 1861-62. It justified this action on three grounds: the commercial possibilities of the river were good; prosecution of the works was a national object and as such its cost could not be considered excessive; and the elimination of the first barrier would add a further ninety miles to the 137 miles already navigable in the lower reaches of the river.[24]

In London, Wood was equally displeased at the attitude of the Madras Government. He was again under strong pressure in Parliament to press on with the Godavari project. On July 5, 1861 the matter was raised in the House of Lords by the Earl of Shaftesbury.[25] On July 24, a deputation of twenty-two members of Parliament visited Wood and discussed the question with him. J. B. Smith was so dissatisfied with the results of this meeting that he prepared to raise the matter in the House of Commons.[26] But on the next day, Wood announced in Parliament that, in order to expedite the supply of cotton from Berar, the Government would spare no effort and lose no time in developing the Godavari. Wood argued that the main difficulty had hitherto been lack of funds, but the Council of India had decided that very morning to send orders to India directing the navigation works to be carried out

23. Resolution of the Governor-General in the Home Dept., 28 Feb. 1861, Supplement to the Calcutta Gazette, LXXXI, No. 14, March 1861.

24. Government of India to Government of Madras, No. 2407, 5 July 1861, encl. in Government of India to Secretary of State, Letter No. 44 (P.W.), 5 July 1861.

25. 3 *Hansard* 164: 371-420 (5 July 1861).

26. J. B. Smith to J. Cheetham, president, Cotton Supply Association, 26 July 1861, *Cotton Supply Reporter*, 1 Aug. 1861.

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as rapidly as the supply of labour would allow. He recognized that, in the precarious state of the cotton supply, the Government would be failing in its duty to Great Britain and India if it did not take energetic measures to provide means of communication between the cotton-growing districts and the coast.[27]

By the middle of 1861, therefore, the Home Government had reached a firm decision to go full speed ahead on the Godavari navigation scheme. There can be no doubt that this decision was taken in response to pressure from Lancashire, and in order to meet the needs, immediate and prospective, of the cotton industry. Wood emphasized this in his official and private correspondence with the authorities in India following his announcement in Parliament. In a despatch to the Government of India in August, he stressed that, apart from the ultimate advantage to be derived from the works, "the indirect effect which they cannot fail to have in contributing most materially to the supply of the English cotton market, would render it incumbent on Government, more especially with the present prospects of the supply of cotton from the United States, to undertake them at the earliest possible period."[28] Wood admitted that Haig's rough estimates of the cost of the navigation scheme were probably too low but he was quite ready to spend up to one million pounds if necessary and was quite sure the scheme would pay.[29] He informed Denison privately of the promise he had made in Parliament that river navigation would be opened into Berar as the permanent line of communication. He did not wish to recede from this position unless unanswerable reasons could be shown. The cotton manufacturers must not be able to say that the government had failed them in any way, even though Wood doubted that they would avail themselves of anything that was done.[30] Wood followed this up with a formal despatch to Madras in August 1861. He bluntly declared that "looking not only to the general importance of opening the river, but

27. 3 *Hansard* 164: 1519 (25 July 1861).
28. Secretary of State to Government of India, Despatch No. 39 (P.W.), 2 Aug. 1861.
29. Wood to Canning, 3 Aug. 1861, Halifax Collection, India Office, Letter Books, VIII, 146.
30. Wood to Denison, 18 Aug. 1861, *ibid.*, VIII, 206.

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to the expediency, in the present state of America, of doing everything to facilitate the supply of cotton, Her Majesty's Government are desirous that a continuous line of navigation should be formed, with the least possible delay, along portions of the Godavari and its tributaries, from the Nagpur cotton field to the sea."[31] Meantime, Wood authorized the Madras Government to proceed simultaneously, if it wished, with the temporary works and promised that more funds would be made available by the Government of India.

The Secretary of State had clearly laid down the general line of policy to be followed with respect to the Godavari project. The details had to be worked out in India. The Madras Government still showed no enthusiasm for the scheme. A visit Dension made to the Godavari in July confirmed his opposition to it. He was highly critical of Haig's engineering plans, predicted difficulties with the Nizam if canals to circumvent the second and third barriers had to be cut in Hyderabad territory, and was convinced that the scheme to open a permanent line of water communication into Berar was so vast that it would not help in the current cotton crisis. Denison also objected to the division of responsibility for the works between the Governments of India and Madras.[32] The Madras Government put its views before the Secretary of State in November. It thought it more important, because of the demand for cotton, to concentrate efforts on the temporary works which would facilitate the export of the current cotton crop down the river with the monsoon freshes in the following June. It proposed to substitute horse tramways for roads at the three barriers but promised the Secretary of State that these temporary works would not supersede the permanent works ordered by the Home Government.[33] Wood reluctantly agreed to this procedure, but he remained convinced that the commercial capabilities of the Godavari could not be adequately tested until a continuous line of navigation was opened from Berar to the sea.

31. Secretary of State to Government of Madras, Despatch No. 41 (P.W.), 30 Aug. 1861.

32. Denison to Wood, 13 Sept. 1861, Halifax Collection, India Office Correspondence, India, No. 87.

33. Government of Madras to Secretary of State, Letter n. 76 (P.W.), Nov. 1861. Work on the tramways at the first two barriers began in October 1861.

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For him, this was still the prime object to be achieved.[34] Wood had no faith in a navigable waterway with three great portages, since these would greatly increase the cost of conveying goods.[35] In particular, he feared trouble with the cotton interests if the government did not exert itself over the Godavari.[36]

By this time, doubts about the utility of the project were not confined to Madras. Officials of the Supreme Government were also beginning to question the scheme. In the late summer of 1861, Richard Temple, the president of the Civil Finance Commission set up by the Government of India to examine all branches of civil expenditure, was sent on special duty to Nagpur and the other districts of Central India which were soon to be formed into a new administrative unit called the Central Provinces. While there, he wrote to the Governor-General on the subject of the Godavari. Temple stressed that the vital question was whether the future export route of Berar and Nagpur cotton would be by the proposed waterway or by the projected Bombay and Nagpur railway.[37] The promoters of the Godavari project, whether professional officers or others, assumed that if navigation was opened on the Godavari, the river would at once attract all Nagpur cotton and probably all Berar cotton. But the Bombay merchants, whether European or Indian, were confident that for Berar, at least, the Godavari would never compete with the railway. This view was shared by all the government officials Temple met in Berar and Nagpur. The reason was that the chief cotton mart in Berar, Amraoti, would be only six miles from the railway, and the chief mart in Nagpur, Hinganghat, would be only twenty-five miles from

34. Secretary of State to Government of Madras, Despatch no. 2 (P.W.), 8 Feb. 1862.

35. Wood to Canning, 17 Aug. 1861, and to Denison, 18 Aug. 1861, Halifax Collection, India Office, Letter Books, VIII, 204 and 208.

36. Wood to Denison, 8 No. 1861, *ibid.*, IX, 86.

37. The main line from Bombay had already reached Chalisgaon, 203 miles from Bombay and 316 miles from Nagpur, on Oct. 1, 1861. The first section of the Nagpur branch, from Bhusaval to Malkapur, was opened on May 5, 1863. Malkapur was only 213 miles from Nagpur. The Government of India had a financial stake in the success of this line, as of all other railways in India, since it guaranteed interest at the rate of 5 per cent on the capital spent on its construction.

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the line. There remained only the southern and eastern parts of Nagpur province, which were covered in jungle and only partly cultivated. Temple thought that the opening of navigation on the Godavari would give a great impulse to the development of this region and that its products would certainly be exported by the water route. But in so far as the navigation scheme was designed to attract the cotton of Berar and Nagpur, Temple was forced to conclude: "On the whole, as far as present appearances go, it seems doubtful whether the existing cotton fields will be immediately benefited by the opening of the Godavari."[38]

These views were expressed too late to influence the decision to go ahead with the navigation scheme. But it was in an atmosphere of growing doubt that the authorities in India began to draw up detailed plans to execute the Secretary of State's orders. In January 1862, the Governor of Madras summoned Haig to a personal interview in order to clarify the principles on which the navigation works were being constructed. Denison believed that the project would be more worthwhile if certain modifications could be made in Haig's plan so as to extend the period during which the river would be open for navigation from eight to ten or eleven months.[39] But the interview revealed that Haig's detailed planning had never gone beyond the lesser object of improving navigation for only part of the year. Only general information had been collected for the additional works necessary to open navigation for a longer period. Denison concluded that a comprehensive plan, including estimates of costs and of the time required to complete the project, should be prepared to enable the government to form a correct idea of the benefits likely to result from full development. It would then be possible to decide whether the advantages of the scheme would justify the expenditure involved.

Pending preparation of plans and estimates for the enlarged project, Denison ordered Haig to carry on with the work required to circumvent all three barriers by means of canals with locks

38. Temple to private secretary to Governor-General, 18, Sept. 1861, Canning Papers (Leeds Central Library), 108/9339.

39. Minute by W. T. Denison, 6, Oct. 1861, encl. in Government of Madras to Secretary of State, Letter No. 76 (P.W.), 8 Nov. 1861.

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capable of carrying steamers 200 feet long and 30 feet wide. The cost of these canals, including locks and dams, was roughly estimated at 34 lakhs. In addition, 12¼ lakhs would have to be spent on works in the river bed between the barriers, bringing the total cost to Rs. 4,625,000 (£462,500).[40] This would open navigation for 400 miles for six months of the year, although for part of this period, when the water level was low, navigation would suffice for vessels of only two feet draught. Haig also received orders to continue with the construction of tramways at the first two barriers and a cart track at the third. Haig believed that this would enable him to open the Godavari to traffic from Hinganghat to the sea in both directions by June 15, 1862.[41]

Meanwhile, the Godavari lobby in England was complaining of lack of progress. In January 1862, Lord Elgin, who was about to leave England to assume office as Governor-General of India, received a deputation from the Cotton Supply Association. J. B. Smith drew Elgin's attention to the Godavari, claiming that it could become as important a highway for the cotton of Berar as the Mississippi was for the cotton of the Southern States of America. Smith criticized the Government of India for its failure to open the river to navigation and attributed the delay to the policy of trying to complete the works out of current revenue, instead of borrowing for the purpose.[42]

In fact, finance was not a major problem by the early part of 1862. The Government of India granted a further Rs. 100,000 for the Godavari in December 1861, bringing the total grant for 1861-62 to half a million rupees.[43] The main factor hindering progress was a shortage of labour. Cholera cut the work force of 1800 in half during the last three months of 1861.[44] At the beginning of 1862,

40. The canals at the three barriers would be 25 miles, 5 miles and 35 miles long at the first, second, and third barriers respectively. An alternative project for a canal 40 miles long at the second barrier was also suggested, at an additional cost of 13 lakhs.

41. Government of Madras to Secretary of State, Letters No. 23 and 32 (P.W.), 11 Apr. and 10 May 1862.

42. *Cotton Supply Reporter*, 1 Feb. 1862.

43. Government of India to Secretary of State, Letter No. 89 (P.W.), 23 Dec. 1861.

44. F. T. Haig to Col. Ouchterlony, 11 Feg. 1862, encl. in Government of Madras to Secretary of State, Letter No. 23 (P.W.), 11 Apr. 1862.

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the Nizam of Hyderabad prohibited further migration of workers from his dominions to the Godavari project. This was because the activities of the agency established to obtain workers in his state amounted to impressment.[45] Haig was forced to admit that, because of these circumstances, progress on both the temporary and permanent works had been slow. He also warned that the scarcity of labour had forced up wages and this would increase the cost of the works both in the current year and in the future.

Another factor contributing to slow progress was the clumsy administrative system under which the works were being executed. Haig worked directly under the Madras Government, which had the right of direct access to the Secretary of State. But the local government required the prior sanction of the Government of India for all expenditures on public works, except those of a minor nature. This gave the Supreme Government a voice in the control of the project. This division of control and responsibility was bound to result in delays, particularly when the two levels of government, as well as the Secretary of State, differed over matters both of policy and finance. The Government of India was therefore receptive to a proposal made by Richard Temple, following his visit to Nagpur on behalf of the Supreme Government, that control of the navigation works should be transferred from Madras to the Central Provinces. This newly-created province, being only a Chief Commissionership was directly subordinate to the Government of India, which could therefore implement its policy in a manner impossible with a presidency government. The Madras Government accepted the proposal with alacrity. It had always protested that the Godavari works would chiefly benefit Central India, if they caused any benefit at all, which it doubted. It therefore readily agreed to the transfer, along with Haig and everyone and everything connected with the navigation scheme. The Secretary of State gave his approval in August 1862, although the transfer did not become fully effective until May 1, 1863.

The change in administrative responsibility for the navigation scheme led to a reappraisal of the project and to the preparation of revised estimates both of its cost and of the time required for

45. Government of Madras to Secretary of State, Letter No. 60 (P.W.), 14 July 1862.

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its completion. In August and September 1862, Richard Temple, by now the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces,[46] travelled along the entire navigable valley of the Godavari, from Wardha to the sea. In January 1863, he drew up a report containing first-hand information on the river, the trade and circumstances of the surrounding territories, and the progress of the navigation works.[47] Temple stressed the climatic difficulties which detracted from the superficial value of the Godavari river system. He also drew attention to an important factor affecting the prospects of cotton exports along the Godavari. Cotton was ready for export from Nagpur in March whereas, at best, the Godavari navigation would not be open until June. This would give the railway a decisive advantage over the waterway as a means of exporting cotton. Temple concluded that for this reason cotton could not be counted on as an important factor in future Godavari traffic.

To assist the Government of India in deciding its policy, now that the works were to be its direct responsibility, Temple summarized past progress on the navigation scheme and made recommendations for future action. Up to July 1862, the government had spent Rs. 950,000 on surveys, permanent construction, temporary tramways, and miscellaneous works. Little actual construction had been carried out and the only place where ground had been broken was at the first barrier. To extend navigation beyond the third barrier to the vicinity of Hinganghat, the chief cotton mart of Nagpur, would cost somewhere between fifty and seventy-five lakhs, and Temple did not believe that the benefits to be derived from extending navigation so far inland justified such a large outlay. He therefore recommended a limited scheme to open navigation to the foot of the third barrier only. This would provide navigation for five months of the year for a distance of 300 miles from the sea. He estimated that the work could be done in two and a half years at a cost of twenty-five to thirty lakhs of rupees, in addition to what had already been spent. This sum would be spread over three years, including the current year,

46. Temple was Officiating Chief Commissioner from April 1862 to December 1863, and Chief Commissioner from March 1864 to April 1867.

47. Memorandum by R. Temple, 20 Aug. 1862; Report on the Godavari by R. Temple, 23 Jan. 1863, encl. in Government of India to Secretary of State, Letter No. 79 (P.W.), 9 Dec. 1863.

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and would secure the opening of navigation by May 1865. Finally, Rs. 450,000 would have to be spent on a road, seventy miles long, connecting Chanda, in the Wardha valley, with the foot of the third barrier. In other words, Temple's limited scheme would cost between thirty-nine and forty-four lakhs, including past expenditures, compared with Haig's original estimate of twenty-nine lakhs for the more ambitious project to open navigation beyond the third barrier for a total distance of 473 miles.[48]

Temple had already been promised all the funds necessary to complete the Godavari scheme, although expert opinion in the Government of India was by now highly sceptical of "any romance of the cotton trade down the Godavari."[49] But with Secretary of State still insisting upon vigorous prosecution of the works,[50] there could be no turning back. In 1862-63, while Temple was still pursuing his investigations, Rs. 566,973 was spent on tramways at the first two barriers, the road around the third barrier, and the dam and canal at the first barrier. Haig was again having great difficulty in keeping his work force together, chiefly because of sickness, especially during the oppressive heat of March and April.[51] By then, even the temporary works to circumvent the barriers by means of tramways had not been completed. These works had begun in October 1861, but of the 68 miles of tramway under construction only 34 miles were finished.

In July 1863, the Government of India accepted Temple's recommendations for future work on the navigation scheme. It ordered the permanent works already in progress at the first barrier on designs approved by the Madras Government, but never submitted to the Supreme Government, to continue, called for designs

48. Temple estimated that to open navigation beyond the third barrier would add a further 21 lakhs (£ 210,000) to the estimated cost of the project (This would have brought total expenditure to over £ 600,000).

49. Col. R. Strachey, Secretary to the Government of India, P.W. Dept., to Temple, 28 Oct. 1862, Richard Temple Collection (India Office Library, MSS. Eur. F. 86), No. 54 (Special Letters, Central Provinces, 1862-67).

50. Secretary of State to Government of India, Despatch No. 29 (P.W.), 14 Aug. 1862.

51. Report on the Progress of Public Works in India for 1862-63, India. Public Works, Collections to Despatches from India, XXXV (1864), No. 69, Coll. 2.

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and estimates for the works at the second barrier, and stopped the permanent works under way at the third barrier pending a final decision on their future. It also ordered completion of the tramways at the first and second barriers. It allocated Rs. 850,000 for this programme in 1863-64.[52]

The Government of India's allocation of funds for the revised project alarmed the Secretary of State, since Temple's report had called for the expenditure of a million rupees a year to secure the opening of navigation to the foot of the third barrier by May 1865. Wood anxiously asked the Government of India for information on the progress made on the works since January 1863.[53] The news he received was not encouraging. By July 1864, the Government of India had still not received from Haig the plans and estimates called for a year earlier, and had been obliged to ask for them "in a peremptory manner."[54] It threatened suspension of the works if they were not forthcoming. When it finally received the designs and estimates for the works at the first and second barriers, it considered them so incomplete as to be useless. As for progress on the ground, it was still disappointingly slow. Haig was able to spend only Rs. 575,089 of the money allocated for the works in 1863-64; shortage of labour was again the main reason. Furthermore, rising labour costs made it clear that estimates of the cost of completing the project would again have to be revised. It was also clear by the middle of 1864 that the target date of May 1865 for opening navigation to the foot of the third barrier could not possibly be met.[55]

All this heightened the Government of India's disillusionment with the project. In July 1864, Sir John Lawrence, who had become Governor-General six months previously, informed Wood that the navigation scheme was again being reappraised. He men-

52. Government of India to Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, No. 1388, 14 July 1863, encl. in Government of India to Secretary of State, Letter No. 79 (P.W.), 9 Dec. 1863.

53. Secretary of State to Government of India, Despatch No. 18 (P.W.), 25 Apr. 1864.

54. Government of India to Secretary of State, Letter No. 48 (P.W.), 2 July 1864.

55. Government of India to Secretary of State, Letter No. 59 (P.W.), 4 Aug. 1864.

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tioned that it had been undertaken solely in response to agitation in Parliament and at Wood's own orders. The authorities in India had been unwilling to do anything which might be construed as thwarting the Godavari project, but few believed it was worth the cost it would entail.[56] Progress on the works in 1864-65 bore out Lawrence's pessimism. Only the works at the first barrier were continued. In April 1865 cholera killed 800 of the work force. Many others fled and operations had to be suspended for a month. When the scattered work force was again collected, only 2,500 out of 6,000 could be mustered.[57]

The Government of India did not complete its review of the project until September 1865. It discovered that expenditure on the Godavari works up to May 1, 1865 had amounted to £286,000. Haig now estimated that at least £520,000 more would have to be spent on the limited scheme to open navigation to the foot of the third barrier. This would bring the total cost of the project to at least £800,000, compared with Temple's estimate in January 1863 of between £390,000 and £440,000 and Haig's original estimate of £292,500 for the larger scheme to open navigation beyond the third barrier.[58] The prospect of such a heavy outlay aroused strong opposition in the Governor-General's Council. It was led by Colonel H. M. Durand, who had served on the Secretary of State's Council from 1859 to 1861. Durand pointed out that the money so far spent had been concentrated on the first barrier

56. Lawrence to Wood, 16 June 1864, Halifax Collection, India Office, Corresp., India, 7A, No. 101.

57. Report on the Administration of the Central Provinces, 1864-65, para. 139.

58. Government of India to Secretary of State, Letter No. 116 (P.W.), 19 Sept. 1865. As nearly as it could, the Government of India calculated this expenditure as follows:

Years	Amount (£)	Project	Amount (£)
1855-57	13,347	Tramways	52,335
1859-61	7,926	Improvements in river bed	6,001
1861-62	36,179	First barrier	85,867
Supplementary	37,403	Second barrier (prelim. charges)	9,878
1862-63	56,697	Establishments	71,519
1863-64	55,662	Steamers, materials, and advances outstanding	59,875
	78,951		
Total	286,165	Total	285,475

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works, but even there not half of the required work had been done and none of the other works had as yet been touched. In a powerful indictment of the entire project, Durand argued that when it was first brought forward in the Council of India, he had urged that nothing should be sanctioned without the previous submission of well-considered plans and estimates, and their scrutiny by the Government of India. He urged that no action should now be undertaken until this procedure was followed. Durand especially deplored one of the principal characteristics of the navigation scheme, namely, the oscillation of views and the constant changes of plans. He reminded his colleagues that the Government of India was still not in possession of matured plans and estimates for the works at the first barrier, and there had been similar vacillation over the works at the second barrier. Nor were there any estimates for the works between the second and third barriers for the road to Chanda.[59]

Lawrence was equally exasperated and thought it was a "great misfortune" that the scheme had ever been undertaken. But he drew back at the prospect of abandoning works on which so much money had been spent and he did not wish to clash with the known views of the Secretary of State.[60] He persuaded his Council to agree to a continuation of the works and Haig's new estimates were sent to London for approval. The Government of India had to admit that the results of past expenditure were not encouraging. This was because the work had been hurried forward in response to pressure from England, so that designs and estimates were not sufficiently matured or considered. Looking to the future, it recognized that there was force in the argument against throwing good money after bad, but the works had been deliberately undertaken and though they had proved, and were likely to prove, much more expensive than anticipated, nothing had occurred to show that they might not after all be successful. Still clutching at straws, the Government of India agreed that while little had been realized for the money so far spent, experience had been gained and some work had been done. There would be no local traffic at first and

59. Note by Colonel Durand, 26 Aug. 1865, encl. in Government of India to Secretary of State, Letter No. 116 (P.W.), 13 Sept. 1865.

60. Lawrence to Wood, 31 Aug. 1865, Halifax Collection, India Office, Corresp., India, 7A, No. 101.

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it would take six years to complete the work at the first and second barriers and to build the road around the third barrier. This was an unpalatable prospect and the Government of India frankly admitted that it had decided to continue with the project only after much hesitation. As a palliative to restless spirits like Durand, it proposed to appoint two reputable engineers, with experience in hydraulic engineering, to visit the Godavari and make an expert report on the navigation scheme.[61]

In London, the Secretary of State had also been reviewing the Godavari project. He questioned Temple, who was on leave in England, about it and learned from him that while there was a case for opening navigation through the first and second barriers, as regards the third barrier and the works above it "the case becomes more remote and evanescent the more it is considered."[62] Wood then consulted Haig, also in England on leave, and was confirmed in his long-standing determination to push the navigation scheme through to completion. In February 1866, Wood ordered the Government of India to go ahead with the works at the first and second barriers but to stop work on the road around the third barrier. Instead, he ordered surveys to be made with a view to extending water navigation considerably beyond the third barrier, if possible to Hinganghat. Wood was still convinced that only by extending continuous water navigation into the heart of the cotton country could the important advantages be obtained for which the whole project was originally undertaken.[63]

61. Government of India to Secretary of State, Letter No. 116 (P.W.), 13 Sept. 1865. Several years later, Richard Strachey, who drafted this despatch, said that "it was not considered either decent or necessary to refer in it in an offensive way to the action of the Secretary of State in connection with these works, which had, as I think, more or less been opposed to the wishes of the Government of India. The Government of India did not wish to write anything that might be disagreeable to the Secretary of State, there was no object in doing so, or in laying stress upon those facts." Report from the Select Committee on East India Finances, *P.P.*, VIII (1872), No. 327, Minutes of Evidence, Q. 7089.

62. Temple to Col. Dickens, Secretary to the Government of India in the P.W. Dept., 14 Nov. 1865, Richard Temple Collection, No. 53 (Demi-Official Letters, C. P., 1865-67), II, 230.

63. Secretary of State to Government of India, Despatch No. 11 (P.W.), 8 Feb. 1866. Feeling at the India Office was that if navigation ceased at the third barrier, it would stop at a point so much more distant from the

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This despatch, which upset the whole basis on which the navigation scheme had been proceeding since July 1863, marks the end of Wood's direct connection with the Godavari project. Soon after signing it, he resigned as Secretary of State for India. The Government of India decided to take no action on it until it had received the report of the two engineers it had appointed to inquire into the project. These officers, Colonels Anderson and Fife, reported in June 1866. Their report added further confusion to the situation. They recommended going on with the navigation project, but with a view to native boat rather than steamer traffic. This would make it possible to continue the line of navigation beyond the third barrier, even though the only benefit to be derived from this would be the "general improvement" of the country. They also proposed certain modifications in Haig's engineering plans for the works at the first and second barriers. These included a short canal instead of a longer one designed by Haig for the first barrier, at a saving of fifteen lakhs in money and considerable time in construction, and a reduction in Haig's estimate of the cost of the second barrier works.[64]

The report by Anderson and Fife precipitated another argument in the Governor-General's Council. Four members of the

cotton fields of Nagpur than the railway, that every pound of cotton exported would almost certainly go by rail. See Minute by W. T. Thornton, Secretary of the P.W. Dept of the India Office, in India Office, Public Works, Despatches to India (Original Drafts), VI (1865-66). The draft despatch was considerably altered before being approved by the Council of India. It was peppered with sardonic comments by the Permanent Under-Secretary of State. Sir A. Cotton wrote a lengthy Minute in favour of proceeding with the entire scheme, while H. T. Prinsep wrote a forceful Minute dissenting from the despatch. See Council of India, Minutes of Dissent, II, 187-202.

64. Report by Colonels Anderson and Fife, 27 June 1866, encl. in Government of India to Secretary of State, Letter No. 36 (P.W.), 8 March 1867. One reason for their rejection of steam navigation was the fact that Haig had designed locks of 30 feet width for use by stern-wheelers of the type common on American rivers. They considered that such steamers would not be suitable in the currents and whirlpools encountered on the Godavari and they thought that sidewheelers would not be sufficiently powerful against the river's current.

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Council now wanted to abandon the navigation scheme altogether.[65] Durand again led the opposition. He pointed out that the works had been pushed on in the expectation that they would give the means of transporting the cotton crop of Nagpur to the coast, an object which had since been accomplished by the railway.[66] Merchants were paying high freight rates to get the cotton of the North-Western Provinces conveyed by rail from Allahabad and other places rather than send it down the Ganges by steamer or in native boats. This showed how vain it was to expect the Godavari navigation to draw any of the cotton from Berar, especially as the terminus of the navigation would be at a considerable distance from the cotton field, while the railway ran right through it. Durand vigorously attacked the whole concept of opening the Godavari to navigation. He was prepared to admit that the Government of India had a duty to undertake great public works without always regarding too closely whether or not they would be remunerative, but this principle had its limits and the history of the Godavari works and their progress was an example of a clear transgression of these limits. Durand conceded that the Government was naturally reluctant to withdraw from any public work once it had been undertaken, but it had not hesitated to discontinue work on the Arakan and Tibet roads because of their doubtful value. It had even cut expenditure on the Ganges canal rather than allow charges for public works to press too heavily on the budget. In striking contrast to these measures was the licence that had been given to expenditure on the Godavari works, and the practical result was that the Government now found itself in the dilemma of either submitting to the dead loss of the large sum expended, or of embarking on even greater expenditure.[67]

Durand had stated the position forcefully, though accurately, but Lawrence was still unwilling to accept abandonment of the Godavari project. Ultimately, an unsatisfactory compromise was reached. The Government of India rejected the proposal made by

65. W. Grey, H. S. M. Maine, General Sir H. W. Norman, and Sir H. Durand. National Archives of India (hereafter referred to as NAI), India, P.W. Proceedings (C. W. Commns.), April 1867, Nos. 1-16.

66. The railway reached Nagpur on Feb. 20, 1867.

67. Minute by Colonel Sir H. Durand, 23 Feb. 1867, encl. in Government of India to Secretary of State, Letter No. 36 (P.W.), 8 March 1867.

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Anderson and Fife to abandon the idea of steam navigation on the Godavari but accepted their plan for a short canal at the first barrier. It accepted Haig's estimates of the cost of the second barrier works but reserved extension of the navigation project beyond the third barrier pending further orders from London. Lastly, it made the significant admission that it was not convinced that these decisions would prove profitable in any degree commensurate with the expense of carrying them out.[68] This was tantamount to saying that the navigation scheme would be continued only because the Home authorities had made it clear that they wished the work to go on.

In fact, the Government of India's ambiguous attitude greatly disturbed the Secretary of State, Sir Stafford Northcote. "We seem to be spending money with very little certainty of obtaining a return for it;" he wrote to Lawrence, "and at this moment, when there is so much to be done in the way of really remunerative works, it seems a great pity to be proceeding with a forlorn hope of this kind."[69] Northcote was ready to accept a recommendation from the Government of India to abandon the works, even though he knew this would lead to a great clamour. But he thought that if it was clear that the works were a mistake, the responsibility should be faced.

At the India Office, in the middle of 1867, abandonment was an open question.[70] The Council of India had never been favourable to the project. H. T. Prinsep, a former director of the East India

68. Government of India to Secretary of State, Letter No. 36 (P.W.), 8 March 1867.

69. Northcote to Lawrence, 9 June 1867, John Lawrence Collection (India Office Library, MSS. Eur. F. 90), Letters from the Secretary of State, XXVIII, No. 29.

70. W. T. Thornton advised that it might be better for the Government of India to abandon the scheme and cut its losses. He pointed out that it was the lowness of Haig's original estimate of less than £ 300,000 for the entire project that had influenced the decision to sanction the project. If the estimate had been for £ 3,000,000, everyone would have seen that it would not possibly pay to open the Godavari. Thornton did not follow the normal procedure of drafting a despatch in reply to the Government of India's Letter of 8 March, and then submitting the draft for approval by the Council of India and Secretary of State. Instead, he asked for specific instructions as to the policy which should be embodied in the despatch.

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Company and a member of the Council since its inception in 1858, expressed strong opposition to going on with the navigation scheme. He stressed the difficulties Haig had experienced in securing any kind of labour for the works, let alone skilled labour and craftsmen, the expense of importing food for the work force, and the constant attacks of cholera. He attacked the idea that Indian rivers could be opened to navigation as effectively and as profitably as those of Europe and America, when all the circumstances in India were so widely different. It was in deference to this mistaken idea that the Godavari works had first been undertaken.[71]

Lawrence was now the main obstacle to abandonment. He, too, had been a member of the Council of India since its inception and had served on it until December 1863, when he had resigned on his appointment as Governor-General. He told Northcote that the Godavari works had been ordered by Sir Charles Wood under pressure of parliamentary agitation. He specifically identified J. B. Smith as the moving spirit, supported by the Manchester School. He clearly recollected when the matter had first been broached in the Council of India. H. T. Prinsep had strongly opposed the scheme and had been supported by Durand. Lawrence doubted if a man in the Council had favoured the scheme; certainly he had not. But the feeling in the Council was that it had to submit to the views of the Secretary of State, supported as they were in Parliament. Lawrence now thought that if the works were abandoned, there would certainly be the clamour predicted by Northcote and he did not think it could be satisfactorily met. He therefore recommended reverting to the policy adopted in July 1863 and opening navigation to the foot of the third barrier. When this was done, consideration could be given to further works, if any. At the same time, Lawrence admitted that if Northcote decided to close down the works and accept the waste of money, no one on the Governor-General's Council would say a word in opposition.[72]

Lawrence's views swayed Northcote away from his earlier readiness to abandon the "forlorn hope." He was also influenced

71. Minute by H. T. Prinsep, 29 Aug. 1867, Council of India, Minutes of Dissent, II, 362.

72. Lawrence to Northcote, 18 July 1867, John Lawrence Collection, Letters to the Secretary of State, XXXII, No. 43.

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by Lord Napier, the Governor of Madras, whom he had consulted. Napier argued that expenditure on the Godavari must be regarded in the same light as expenditure on roads, which opened up the country but were not directly remunerative.[73] But Northcote concluded that if the scheme was not to be abandoned, it must be carried through in its entirety. All half measures must be avoided since ultimate success would depend on the scale on which the works were constructed. This meant that the works must be adapted for steam navigation, the long rather than the short canal at the first barrier must be constructed, and surveys for storage reservoirs in the Upper Godavari system must be rapidly completed so as to ensure a continuous line of all-year water communication as far as Hinganghat in future years. Meanwhile, the road around the third barrier must also be continued at a cost of Rs. 100,000.[74]

The Government of India received these orders with consternation. It complained that the Secretary of State had apparently paid more attention to Haig's views than to its own. In particular, it protested against further surveys being made for extension of the works beyond the third barrier when estimates for such works had not even been submitted. In a stiff rejoinder, it batted the ball back into the Secretary of State's court:

> We must, in conclusion, remark that the prosecution of the Godavery navigation works was ordered by the Government in England before the estimates were properly matured. This has led to large expenditure, and we believe actually to much delay....We cannot hold ourselves responsible for the consequences if the measures recommended by us for curtailing operations connected with the Godavery project within reasonable limits, and for insisting on the prosecution of the works upon carefully prepared plans and estimates, are set aside.[75]

The Government of India and the Home Government had therefore reached an impasse over the need for surveys for works on

73. Northcote to Lawrence, 3 Sept. 1867, ibid., Letters from the Secretary of State, XXVIII, No. 39. Northcote was referring to Lord Napier of Merchistoun, Governor of Madras, 1866-72.

74. Secretary of State to Government of India, Despatch No. 86 (P.W.), 14 Sept. 1867.

75. Government of India to Secretary of State, Letter No. 196 (P.W.), 29, Now. 1867.

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the Upper Godavari. Haig tried to strengthen his arguments in favour of constructing storage reservoirs for navigation purposes by claiming that there was a deficiency of water for irrigation purposes in the delta of the river. Colonel Richard Strachey, a strong opponent of the project when Secretary of the Supreme Government's public works department and now the Inspector-General of Irrigation Works in India, visited the delta and after discussions with canal officers concluded that the rain supply of the Godavari greatly exceeded the wants of existing cultivation in the irrigated area. This conclusion was fully supported by the Government of Madras, in whose territory the delta lay. Strachey penned a scathing note condemning Haig's "visionary projects."[76] It was to no avail. In February 1868, the Secretary of State overruled the Government of India's objections to the proposed surveys of the Upper Godavari,[77] and when the Indian authorities again demurred, the Home Government insisted on its orders being carried out.[78]

The Government of India had lost the battle of the surveys but it was now preparing to end the war—and on its terms. On July 15, 1868 the locks at the first barrier were finally completed and the canal was opened for traffic. There was now navigation on the Godavari for a distance of more than 200 miles from the sea. But traffic results in the first year of operations bore out all the prophecies of the pessimists. Navigation through the canal and beyond became impossible after October 15 because the water level in the river fell so low. Such traffic as there was during the three months of navigation consisted almost exclusively of

76. NAI, India, P. W. Procs., May 1868, Nos. 4-8, "Keep-With" Note by Colonel R. Strachey, 26 March 1868. These Notes (hereafter referred to as K. W. Notes) were not for the record. They consist of the comments of members of the Governor-General's Council and other high-ranking officials, such as secretaries to Government, on matters brought before the Council for decision. The Notes were written on the files as they circulated. They were not sent to London as part of the formal proceeding of the Government to India.

77. Secretary of State to Government of India, Despatch No. 18 (P.W.), 28 Feb. 1868.

78. Government of India to Secretary of State, Letter No. 68 (P.W.), 22 Apr. 1868; Secretary of State to Government of India, Despatch No. 63 (P.W.), 25 June 1868.

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government boats carrying material and stores for the works beyond the first barrier. There was no traffic at all in cotton.[79] The following year saw no significant improvement. In 1869-70, navigation was open for steamers as far as the second barrier for five months and for small native boats for six weeks longer. But the quantity of traffic in private goods carried in private boats came to only 478 tons. A further 1184 tons of government stores were carried in government steamers. This was done at a loss of Rs. 19,166. Haig himself had to admit that the traffic was only sufficient to keep one of his four steamers fully employed. Yet the capital invested in these steamers amounted to Rs. 128,000.[80]

These disappointing results provided the Government of India with further ammunition for the case it was preparing in favour of abandoning the navigation scheme. It was once again in financial difficulties. There were budget deficits in four consecutive years from 1866-67 to 1869-70, the accumulated deficit over this period amounting to £10,753,236.[81] Yet it was still committed to heavy expenditures on the Godavari navigation scheme whose final cost, if navigation was opened beyond the third barrier, was still an open question. The chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, J. H. Morris, understandably complained in 1869 that for eight years the works had been carried on without a complete estimate being made of the cost of finishing the project. The Government of India thereupon asked Haig to provide estimates of various ways of completing the scheme. Haig's lowest estimate was for £150,000 in order to obtain three or four months' navigation for large steamers to the foot of the third barrier, with a third class road from that point to Chanda. To secure full navigation for steamers throughout the year from the sea to the railway at Wardha in the Central Provinces would cost £ 40,000. Both these estimates were in addition to the £700,000 which had been spent on the Godavari works from their inception to March 1870.[82] In commenting on these

79. NAI, India, P.W. (Commns.) Procs., Dec. 1869, No. 38.

80. NAI, P.W. (Buildings and Roads, Commns.) Procs., May 1871, Nos. 19-38.

81. Statistical Abstract Relating to British India from 1863 to 1872, *PP.*, (1873), LXIX (C. 870), 2.

82. NAI, P.W. (B. & R. Commns.) Procs., July 1871, Nos. 13-72.

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estimates, Morris argued, as so many others had in the past, that even if the works were completed to the full extent necessary for year-round navigation by steamers, there was no prospect of sufficient traffic for many years to come which would bring a fair return on the money spent. He therefore recommended reverting to the policy adopted in July 1863 and limiting further operations to completion of the second barrier works. This would cost £120,000, with a further £30,000 for a third class road from the third barrier to Chanda, and would give limited navigation for small steamers and country boats for six months of the year.[83]

Haig's new estimates, and the Chief Commissioner's recommendations, brought the Godavari issue to a head in the Governor-General's Council. When the papers were circulated, the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Napier of Magdala, remarked that the scheme appeared to be "one of the most wonderful ever undertaken." He noted that the Government was now being asked to throw an immense sum of good money after bad in order to retire from the affair with something like respectability.[84] This opinion was shared by three of Napier's colleagues. The finance Member, Sir Richard Temple, pointed out that the construction of the railway line to Nagpur had removed any jusification for full completion of the project. He had been in constant controversy with Sir Arthur Cotton, Haig, and their supporters on this point. But Temple could not accept total abandonment of the project and argued in favour of limited completion of the work. In March 1871, the matter was discussed at a full meeting of the Governor-General's Council, at which Haig was also present. The outcome was a decision to ask London for authoriy to spend £120,000 on completing the works at the second barrier and then abandoning the scheme. But the Governor-General, Lord Mayo, could see no purpose in this course. He asked members of the Council whether it was really desirable to incur this additional expenditure. Would it not be better to abandon the works as they stood and so avoid further loss? Mayo recognized that abandonment of the works would mean loss of the plant collected for their construction and the loss

83. Minute by the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces on Colonel Haig's Report on the Godavery Scheme, 14 June 1870, *ibid.*, No. 45.

84. Note by Lord Napier, 14 Sept. 1870, *ibid.*, K. W. Notes.

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of all the money spent so far. "It was a wild scheme from the beginning;" Mayo aptly noted, "taking it at its best, it was 50 years too late, or 150 years too soon."[85]

Mayo's lead stiffened the backs of his colleagues on the Council. Most were agreed that there should be nothing in the Government of India's recommendations to London that would leave the final decision to the Secretary of State. John Strachey suggested that the Government of India ought to take the decision to abandon the works, report this to the Secretary of State, and leave him with the responsibility of reversing it if he wished.[86] This advice was followed and, in June 1871, the Government of India at last recommended abandonment of the Godavari navigation scheme to the Secretary of State.[87]

The Government of India was so confident that the Home Government would accept its recommendation that it asked the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces to state what measures would be necessary to complete the works at the first barrier and secure them from ruin at the least possible cost. The reply from London therefore came as a bombshell. The Secretary of State, the Duke of Argyll, rejected the proposal to abandon the navigation scheme and ordered completion of the works to the foot of the third barrier and construction of a road from thence to Chanda.[88] The Government of India estimated that this would cost £200,000. Mayo decided to make one last effort. In 1868, coal had been discovered at several points along the Warda river in the Chanda district. The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces had at once recommended the construction of a railway to tap the coal and iron resources of the Chanda country, and the cotton of the Warda valley. Surveys and estimates for such a railway were undertaken in 1870 and 1871 while the future of the

85. Note by Lord Mayo, 26 March 1871, *ibid.*, K. W. Notes.

86. Note by J. Strachey, 28 March 1871, *ibid.*, K. W. Notes.

87. Government of India to Secretary of State, Letter No. 63 (P.W.), 1, June 1871. Sir Richard Temple, alone of the Governor-General's Council, dissented from this recommendation.

88. Secretary of State to Government of India, Despatch No. 59 (P.W.), 22 Aug. 1871.

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Godavari works was still under review.[89] Then, in September 1871, the Government of India received word that coal had also been discovered on the Lower Godavari, below the first barrier. "If true", noted Mayo, "this ought to settle the Upper Godavari folly."[90] Mayo received confirmation of this discovery and on October 25 he telegraphed to the Secretary of State, telling him the news and asking whether this would alter his decision to go on with the useless navigation works. The Home Government at last gave way, for the case for a railway which would tap both the coal and the cotton resources of the Warda valley was now beyond dispute.[91] A day after receiving Mayo's telegram, Argyll replied authorizing the Government of India to abandon the works. The Governor-General acted at once. On November 22, he instructed the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces to wind up operations without spending anything on protective works. In this sudden fashion, after eighteen years of work and the expenditure of nearly three quarters of a million pounds, the curtain finally rang down on the river Godavari navigation scheme.

The effort, sustained over nearly two decades, to turn the Godavari into a navigable waterway, illustrates the way in which India, in the mid-Victorian period, was subjected to economic devolopment by the state along the best mercantilist lines.[92] The object

89. Supplement to the *Gazette of India*, 15 Jan. 1870.

90. NAI, India, P.W. (B & R, Commns.) Procs., Dec. 1871, Nos. 1-7, K.W. Note by Lord Mayo, 29 Sept. 1871.

91. The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces pointed out that the construction of a railway would not only secure the more rapid export of raw cotton but would also lower the cost of imported Lancashire piece goods. This in turn would divert labour from spinning and weaving to agriculture and so lead to an extension of the area under cotton cultivation. See Report on the Administration of the Central Provinces, 1868-69, para. 202; and *ibid.*, 1869-70, paras. 117 and 162.

92. Gallagher and Robinson, *op.cit.*, 4. Other examples are the cotton improvement programme, the manipulation of the Indian tariff in the interests of the Lancashire cotton industry, and the construction of railways. See Seth Leacock and David G. Mandelbaum, "A Nineteenth Century Development Project in India: The Cotton Improvement Program," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, III (1955), 334-41; Peter Harnetty, "The Imperialism of Free Trade: Lancashire and the Indian Cotton Duties, 1859-62," *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. XVIII, No. 2 (1965), 339-49; and W. J. Macpherson, "Investment in Indian Railways, 1845-75", *ibid.*, 2nd. ser., VIII (1955), 177-86.

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of the navigation scheme was to tap a new source of raw cotton for British industry. It was originally undertaken in response to pressure from the Manchester School in the 1850s for a more vigorous public works policy in India, so as to develop that country's resources.[93] Later, it received a powerful stimulus from the outbreak of civil war in America, which interrupted the supply of cotton from the Southern States to Lancashire and led to the adoption of special measures to increase supplies from India.[94]

The free trade advocates of the Godavari project secured the active support of Sir Charles Wood, who served as President of the Board of Control from 1852 to 1855 and as Secretary of State for India from 1859 to 1866. Wood's determination to implement the navigation scheme sprang partly from his desire to avoid trouble with the free trade interest in parliament. But he was also convinced, as were the free traders, that the development of a new source of raw materials for an important British industry was a national object which fully justified the intervention of the state. He encountered opposition to the scheme both from his own Council and from the authorities in India, although the latter had at first been favourable to the project. They altered their views when it became apparent that the scheme would cost far more than had originally been anticipated and that the possible advantages to be derived from its completion were outweighed by the heavy expenditure this required. The Indian authorities then urged that the project should be cut back and many officials favoured abandoning it altogether. But the final power of decision in matters of Indian policy rested with the Secretary of State. The use of this power by Wood and his successors to enforce the views of the Home Government on a reluctant Government of India, shows that the techniques of direct political control, commonly associated with "imperialism", were effectively employed in the so-called age of *laissez-faire*. In the final analysis, therefore, the significance of the river Godavari navigation scheme lies in the fresh evidence it provides of the

93. Moore, *op.cit.*, 136-38 and 144-45.

94. For the special measures adopted to increase supplies of Indian cotton to England during the American civil war, see Peter Harnetty, "The Imperialism of Free Trade: Lancashire, India, and the Cotton Supply Question, 1861-65," *Journal of British Studies* (forthcoming).

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nature of British imperial policy in the free trade era. Instead of regarding it as a period of "anti-imperialism", as the traditional view would have it,[95] the active interest which free trade liberals took in imperial affairs, and their success in influencing the direction of British imperial policy, justifies the more recent hypothesis of "the imperialism of free trade" as a sounder interpretation of mid-nineteenth century attitudes to empire.

95. The traditional view has recently been restated by Oilver MacDonagh, "The Anti-Imperialism of Free Trade," *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser. XIV (1961-62), 489-501. His arguments are effectively met in Moore, *op.cit.*

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संदर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFRENCE BOOK

New Light on the Visnukundins

BY

DR. M. RAMA RAO

Sri B. N. Sastri has edited two new c.p. grants of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins in two recent issues of the well-known Telugu journal, *Bhārati* (Madras) and rendered a signal service to the scholarly world. These two grants reveal several interesting facts and induce radical changes in the history of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Pallavas. I am reviewing here these two grants with a view to bringing them to the notice of the scholarly world.

These two grants were obtained from the village of Tummalagūḍem in the Rāmannapēṭa taluk of the Nalgoṇḍa district in the Telingana part of Āndhra Pradēsh.

Vikramēndrabhaṭṭārakavarman's grant

Text

1. Dīptyā dig-maṇḍalaṁ Vyāptaṁ yasya bāl-ārka-tējasaḥ |
   Satyāśraya — sutas = Śrīmā=tsa[1] Jayaty=Uṭṭamāśrayaḥ ||
2. Svasti Bhagavac-Chrīparavata-svāmi-pādānudhyān-
   āvāpta-parajā-pālanādhikārāṇāṁ Brahma-kṣatra-
3. tējō-bhṛatāṁ Viṣṇu-vikrama-naya-sampadāṁ Viṣḍukuṇḍīnāṁ[2]
   Ṣaḍabhijña[3]-pratihāra[4]-darśan-[5]

1. Śrīmā=nsa.
2. Viṣṇukuṇḍināṁ.
3. Ṣaḍabhijna is indicative of the Buddha and six qualities possessed by him viz., divyaṁ cakṣuśrōtraṁ, para-citta-jñānaṁ, pūrva-nivās-ānusmṛitiḥ ātmjñānaṁ, viya-agamanaṁ and kāya-vyūha-siddhiḥ or Dāna, śīla, Kṣānti, Vīrya, dhyāna, and prajñā.
4. Magical formulae.
5. Philosophy.

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
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4. ānugraha-janita-Sugata[6]-śāsan -ābhiprasādasya vibhudha-bhavana-pratispardhi-śōbhā-

5. samuday-ānēka-mahāvihāra-pratiṣṭhāpan-ādhigat-ānanta-brāhmana-puṇya-saṁbhārasya mahā-

6. rāja-śrī-Gōvindavarmmaṇaḥ putrasy=aikādaś-aśvamēdha--Bahusuvarṇa-Pauṇḍarīka-Vājapēya-

7. Kratusahasra[7]-Sarvamēdha-Rājasūya-Puruṣamēdh-ādyaharahat[8]-samyag-anuṣṭhita-Ṣṛti-vi-

8 hit-āsēṣa-duṣkara-Karma-Karm-āmṣṭhānasya prāgdakṣiṇ-āpar-ārarmēnidhi[9] Rēvā-sarit-salila-valaya-

9. vibhūṣaṇāyā bhuvō bhartu=rmmahārāja-śrī-Mādhavavarmmaṇaḥ priya-putrasya-Vākāṭaka-mahā-

10. dēvī-sutasya mahā-kavēḥ Parama-Sōgatasya[10] Mahārajaśrī-Vikramēndrasya sūnōr=anē-

11. ka - catu - rdanta - vijay - ādhigat - āśēṣa - cakravarti – Kṣētr-ādhipatyasya spurat - khaḍga-

12. Kara - sahasr - āvaṭi - parigata - svabhuja - dinakara - prabhā-va - viddhvast - āśēṣa - dāyāda

13. maṇḍala-ghana-timira-paṭalasya Śr = īndrabhaṭṭārakavarm-maṇaḥ priya-sunu = stadanurūpa-

14. śaury-ātiśaya-samasta-rājariṣi-[11]guṇa-saṁpa–dyōga-sāmarthya-[12]prakṛti-maṇḍalēna

15. śēśavaca-vārōpita-[13]rājya-bhāraḥ parama-dhārmakikō dharma-vijayī praṇat-ānēka-sāmanta-ma-

6. The Buddha.
7. Kratu-sahasra.
8. ..aharahas-saṁyak.
9. Prā-gdakṣiṇ-āparā-ṁbōnidhi.
10. Parama-Saugatasya.
11. Rajarṣi-guṇa.
12. ..sāmaythyāti.
13. śaiśavēc-aivārōpita.

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16. kuṭa-maṇi-mayūkh-ōdbhāsita-vara-caraṇa-yugaḷaḥ śrīmā=nvi-
kramēndra-bhaṭṭārakavarmaṇā[14]

17. gata-kāla-bhāvinaḥ[15]sva-para-vaṁś-ālaṁkāra-bhūt = ānsarv
= anēva rājariṣīn-[16] anurūpē-

18. ṇa satkṛty-ēthth=amavabhōdhayati[17] yadhā prathita-prabhav-
ānya-rājavaṁśa-sātmī-]

19. bhūta-pṛthivīpati-pada-prasahy-āharaṇa-vyakta-niratiśaya-
mahimānaṁ Śrīmā-

20. dhavarj-ābhidhānaṁ sutac-chalēna[18]manōhar-ākāra-baddhaṁ
naya-parākram-ādi-guṇa-sandō-

21. h=amabhiprajātāya[19] Viṣṇukuṇḍikula-[20] bahumataiḥ saṁban-
dhit-ābhikhyāta-māhātmya=

22. maśēṣa-sāmantakula-tilakāyaman-ābhigaṇ=amavikala-
guṇamaṇi-kiraṇa-nika-

23. ra-vicchuritaṁ[21] vipula-dig-antarāḷaṁ[22] Śrī-Pṛthivimūla-rāja-
vaṁśa=mutpathi-parigrahēṇa

24. śriy-ēva sāgara=malaṁkṛtavatyā (prati-viṣayam-ati-bahuprā-
kara-Maṇaramō-[23]

25. dāra-karm-ādbhuta-stūpa-vihāra-cūḍamaṇibhir-alaṁkṛta-
sakala-dakṣiṇā-

26. pathasya Śrīparvatēya-pūrv-āpara-kṣitipati-paraṁparāhāra-
madhya-niru-

14. varma.ṇa is out of place here.
15. gata-kālāṁ bhāvinaḥ.
16. rajarṣi.
17. makes it known or understood.
18. as a son. The verb is missing here. It ought to be the equivalent of "adopted" or svīkṛtēna.
19. abhiprajāta.
20. Viṣṇukuṇḍikula.
21. Vicchurita—
22. From "Sutacchalēna" in line 20 to "digantarāḷaṁ" in line 23 there are five adjectival clauses which qualify Mādhavarājābhidhānaṁ in line 20. By supplying the verb "svīkṛtam" we have to infer that this Mādhavarāja was adopted by Vikramēndravarman as his son.
23. This word does not have any meaning.

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27. pama-virājitayā Kaustubhāyamāna-[24] yasō-janmanaḥ guṇa-rūpa-saṁpadbhi-

28. ranugata-Gōvindasya śrī-Gōvindarājasya mūrtimatīṁ śriyaṁ praty-avisayīkṛta-[25] ma

29. nōrathayā Paramabhaṭṭārakā-mahādēvya[26] śrīmadindrapuya= amucchēr-[27] alaṁkaratukāma-

30. y-ēva pratiṣṭapitē śrīmati Paramabhaṭṭarikā-mahāvihār-ēsmābhi[28] pravarddhamā-

31. na vijayarājya-saṁvatsar-aikādaśē Kārtika-māsa-Kṛṣṇa-pakṣ-ēṣṭa-

32. myā[29] caturdiś-ārya-vara-bhikṣu-saṁgha-paribhōgāya sarva-dāna-sahi-

33. tas=sarva-bādha-[30] pariharēṇa Iruṇḍerō-nāma-grāmō dattaḥ

41. ..... Kṛtva Pallava-bhaṁga-pēlava-balaṁ Siṁhātyayaṁ[31] Pallavaṁ-tyā[32]

42. Vṛtya yad-āgataḥ prathamataś=śakrābhidhānaṁ puraṁ prādāc-chāsan=amutta-māśraya

43. iti Khyāta = -stadēvaṁ nṛpaḥ sāṣṭ-āśiti-satuś-śatē[33] Śakayutēs =saṁva[34]

24. virājita-Kaustubhāyamāna.

25. prativiṣayīkṛta.

26. From "prativiṣayam" in line 24 to "Gōvindasya" in line 28, there are two adjectival clauses qualifying Gōvindarājasya, both in the singular number of the seventh case. The portion from "Śrī Pṛthvīmūla" in line 23 to "alaṁkṛtavatyā" in line 24 is one sentence ending in the singular number of the 3rd case of the feminine gender. It should therefore be taken to qualify "mahādēvyā" which is in the same case and gender.

27. ucch-airalaṁkartukāmayā.

28. asmābhiḥ.

29. aṣṭamyām.

30. bādhā.

31. Siṁhāhvayaṁ.

32. Jitvā.

33. catus-śatē.

34. Śakayutē saṁvatsarāṇāṁ.

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44. tsarāṇām gatē|| yēn=ōddhṛtā bhartṛ-kulasya lakṣmīr=adhaḥ patantī[35] naya-vi-

45. Kramābhyāṁ ajñāpanā khyāta-kula-prasūtaḥ Śrī-Mūlarājaḥ sa tṛapēṣu[36] mukhyaḥ

SUMMARY

Uttamāṣraya, the son of *Satyāśraya,* conquers. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins obtained authority for ruling over the people by meditating on the feet of the Lord Śrīparvata. They bore the *tējas* of the *Brahmakṣtras* and valour and wealth which equalled those of Viṣṇu.

In this Viṣṇukuṇḍin family was born Śrī Gōvindavarman, who knew the import of the compounds of *Sugata* on account of his knowledge of the philosophy and magic formulae of *Ṣadabhijña* and who established many *mahāvihāras.* His son was mahārāja Mādhavavarman, who performed eleven *Aśvamēdhas* and the *Bahusuvarṇa, Pauṇḍarīka, Vājapēya, Kratusahasra, Sarvamēdha, Rājasūya* and *Puruṣamēdha* sacrifices and who was the lord of the earth bound by the sea in the east, south and west and by the waters of the river Rēvā in the north. The dear son of this Mādhavavarman was Śrī Vikramēndra (I) who was the son of a Vākaṭaka-mahādēvī, a great poet and the supreme devotee of *Sugata.* Vikramēndra's son was Śrī Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, who obtained the territories of *Cakravartins* through numerous victories gained in battles of four-tusked elephants and who destroyed many kinsmen by the strength of his sword. Indrabhaṭṭāraka's son was Vikramēndravarman (II) the donor, who had the qualities of the *rājarṣis* and on whom the ministers rested the burden of the kingdom while he was still in his infancy. This Vikramēndravarman adopted as his son a Mādhavarāja, who was the ornament of all feudatory families.

There was a queen named Paramabhaṭṭārikā-mahādēvī who adorned by her birth the family Śrī Pṛthvimūla Rāja. This lady beautified the town of Indrapura by building in it a *vihāra,* named the *Paramabhaṭṭārikā-mahāvihāra* as though desirous of showing the wealth of Govindarāja. This Govindarāja shone like the *Kaus-*

35. adhaḥ patantī.
36. nṛpēṣu.

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tubha in the garland of royal families that preceded and succeeded the *Śrīparvatēyas*.

Vikramēndravarman (II) gifted to the monks of the *Āryasaṁgha*, residing in the *mahāvihāra* mentioned above, the village of Iṛudēṛō on the 8th day of the dark half of the month of Kārtika in the 11th year of his reign, when he visited Indrapura on his way back (from a battle) in which he defeated a Pallava named Siṁha. This gift was made in the expired Ṣaka year 488.

The executor of the grant was Śrī Mūlarāja who was born in a famous family and who uplifted the *Lakṣmī* of his overlord's family while she was falling down.

Gōvindavarman's Grant

1. Svasti jitaṁ Bhagavatā tēna Sambuddhēna Kṛtātmanā (|) nirvāṇa-prāptayē yēna sadyō-mārgaḥ pradarśitah (||) Satva-satya-

2. tyāg-ābhijana-naya-vinay-ōtsāhādi-guṇa–gaṇa–saṁpadā-[37] svay-amadhigata-rāgyānāṁ[38] saṁyak-prajapalanā-tpra-

3. thit-āvadāta-pṛthu-yaśasāṁ rājñāṁ[39] Viṣṇukuṇḍīn=[40] āmamala-vipula-sakala-kula-tilakēna Śrī-

Mahārajēndravarma-sat-pautrēṇa maharāja-śrī-Mādhava-varmaṇaḥ suputrēṇa svataya-[41]

5. bhujā b-alōtsāha-prabhāvānurāg-āvapta-svarājyēṇa[42] śaurya-dhairya-pratāp-anubhav-āda-

6. nya-sāmant-ākrānta-rājyāntarēṇa dāna-manādibhir-anuraktą-varṇ-āśrama-svajana-parijanēna[43] grāma-Kṣētra-

37. sampadāṁ.
38. rājyānāṁ.
39. rājñāṁ.
40. Viṣṇukuṇḍināṁ.
41. svakīya.
42. svarajyēṇa.
43. parajana.

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7. hiraṇya-dvirada-turaga-gō-bālīvarda-śayan-āsana yāna-pāna-bhōjana-bhājana-bhavana-vāsas-ābharaṇa-[44] Kanyā-

8. dāsī-dāna-sahaśrāṇāṁ dātrā anēka-dēvāyatana-vihāra-sabhā-prapā-taḍākrōnu-pān-[45]

9. ārāma-prati-saṁskāra-pūrvakaraṇēn-ālaṁkṛta-sakala-digantarēṇa bhikṣu-dvij-ānātha-yācaka-vyā

10. dhita-dīna-Kṛpaṇa-janōpabhujyamāna-nyāyādhigata-vibhava dhana-samudayēn=āsakalā-sakṛt-sarva-[46]

11. sva-tyāgēna sakala-śāstrārtha-sravaṇa-parijñān-ādiha-paratrac-ānanya-cakṣusā viddhi-icchūra-[47] mahā-

12. kulīna-jana-samāśrayēṇa sakala-satva-dhātu-trāṇāyōtpādita-mahābōdhi-vintena[48] mahārāja-śrī-

13. Gōvindavarmaṇā ātmanaḥ pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsarē sapta-triṁsatke vaiśākhē pūrṇṇamāśyāṁ[49] bhaga-

14. vatō daśa-bala-balinaḥ[50] catur-vaiśārdya-viśāradasy[51]=āṣṭadaśa-vēṇikā-buddha-dharma-samalaṁkṛ-

15. ta-matē=rdvā-triṁśa-nmahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇa-var-ōpalakṣitasya Jāti-jarāmaraṇa-śōkādiṣu bahu-

16. saṁsāra-duḥkha-nimagna-sarvva-satv-ōttaraṇāy-ānēka-kalpō[52] saṁjñay-ōpavīta-puṇya-jñāna-saṁbhāra-bhāra-

44. vasas-ābharaṇa.
45. prapā-tatak-ānupāna.
46. sakal-āsakṛt.
47. vidvac-ehūra.
48. vittēna.
49. Paurṇamāsyāṁ.
50. This is a synonym for the Buddha. The ten balas are dānam śīlam, kṣamā, vīryam, dhyānaṁ, prajñā, balaṁ, upāyaḥ, praṇidhiḥ, and jñānaṁ.
51. These are four kinds of the Buddha's confidence in himself.
52. Kalpa.

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17. sy=āpagata-rāga-dvēṣa-mōha-janana-maraṇa-duḥkhasy-āpratihat-āṣṭavaraṇa-sakala-jñēya-jñānas-

18. samyak[53]-saṁbuddhasya mārgam=abhi-prapannaṁ nirv-advirāga-śīla-śikṣ-adbhuta-guṇ–āddhyayana-śravaṇa

19. ntana[54]-bhāvanā-dhyāna-samādhi-samāpaty-ādibhi=rguṇa-gaṇ-ōrunnataṁ[55] puṇya-kṣētraṁ triyāna-yāyinaṁ catur-dda-

20. ś=amāryyasaṁgha=muddisya tyāga-paribhōg-ānvay-āmōpidika-cōpuṇya-kriyā-vastv-abhi nirvartta-

21. yiṣyatā mātā-pitrōḥ sarvva-satvanāvō[56] nikhila-dāridrya-duḥkh-ōpaśama-hētōḥ svasy-āgra-[57]

22. mahiṣyā Parama-mahadēvyāvihārasya dīpa-dhūpa-gandha-puṣpa-dhvaja-pāna-bhōjana-śayan-āsana-grāsa-

23. bhaiṣajya-cendasputita-sīṃa-saṁskārādi[58]-kuśala-mūl-ānupacchedārtthaṁ dvāvērmbadala-peṇkapaṛa

24. nāmadhēyō grāmō Udaka-dāna-pūrvvakaṁ matisṛṣṭi-[59] saṁdhi-sōpanidhi-sadaṇḍa-kara-vṛṣṭi-sōcchiṣṭa-bhāga-

25. bhōga-pradāya vāra-bhadha-dūta[60]-vallabha-rājapurnṣai=rapravēśyō vimukta-sakala-parihārō Viṣṇukuṇḍi-[61]

26. kula vaṁśyai rājabhis=saṁrakṣaṇiyō . . . .

53. Jñānā-tsaṁyak.
54. cintana.
55. guṇa-gaṇa-airanuttaram.
56. sarva-satvānāṁ ca.
57. svasy-āgra.
58. Khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-jīrṇa-saṁskārādi.
59. Pūrvakam atisṛṣṭi.
60. vara-bhaṭa-dūta.
61. Viṣṇukuṇḍin.

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Summary

In the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family there were mahārāja Indravarman and his son, Mādhavavarman. Mādhavavarman's son was Gōvindavarman, the donor who obtained his kingdom by his own valour; who was the giver of villages, fields, *hiraṇyas,* elephants, horses, cows, oxen, cots, seats, drinks, food, houses, cloths, virgins and maids; who built temples, *vihāras,* assembly halls, wells, tanks and gardens; who gave to beggars, ascetics, brāhmaṇas, destitutes, sick persons and poor people the wealth righteously obtained by him; who, learnt the meaning of all the Śāstras and whose wealth was the teaching of the great *Bōdhisatva.*

This Gōvindavarman gifted on the full moon day, in the month of *Vaiśākha,* in the 37th year of his reign, the village of Peṇkapaṛa to the *Āryasaṁgha* residing in the *vihāra* built by his eldest queen, Paramamahādēvī. The gift was made along with all the taxes and exemption from the entry of all royal servants, ambassadors, *Vallabhas* and *Rājapuruṣas.*

The two grants mentioned above throw plenty of new light on the genealogy and chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and on contemporary history.

Genealogy

The genealogical account given in the grant of Vikramēndravarman agrees with that derived from the Īpūr I,[62] Rāmatīrtham,[63] Chikkuḷḷa[64] and Tuṇḍi[65] grants of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family previously published. With the addition of Vikramēndravarman of the Polamūru grant[66] and the Īpūr II plates,[67] at the beginning, the complete genealogy of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins will be the same as I proposed elsewhere.[68] The other grant, issued by Gōvindavarman, creates a complication. The order of succession of Indravarman, Mādhavavarman and Gōvindavarman, given in the grant, does not

62. *E.I.*, XII, pp. 334-337.
63. *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 133-136.
64. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 193-198.
65. *A.P. Govt. Arch. Ser.* No. 8.
66. *Bhārati* VII, pp. 463-480.
67. *E.I.* XVII, pp. 337-339.
68. *Journal of Indian History,* Vol. XI-2, 1-375.

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tally with that contained in any one of the other Viṣṇukuṇḍin grants. One question that arises at this juncture is, what is the place of these three rulers in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin genealogy? The Viṣṇukuṇḍins could not have ruled after 615 A.D. as shown by me elsewhere.[69] Vikramēndravarman II was ruling in S. 488 expired or 566-567 A.D. Then there will be an interval of about 48 years between him and the date of the end of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule. It will be reasonable to ascribe Gōvindavarman and his father and grandfather to this interval, presuming, for the present that they might have belonged to a collateral or *dāyāda* branch which usurped the throne immediately after the end of the reign of Vikramēndravarman II.

Chronology

Sri B. N. Sastri, who edited the c.p. grants under discussion, assigns the rule of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins to the period between 388 and 624 A.D.[70] This view is in conflict with well-established facts and therefore untenable. As I have shown elsewhere, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins could not have ruled after 615 A.D. This view is corroborated by the Maruṭūrn grant of Pulakēśin II,[71] recently published. This grant registers the king's gift of the village of Maruṭūrn situated in the Guntur district, made from his camp at Kallūra also situated in the Guntur district, in the 8th year of his reign which corresponds to 617-618 A.D., immediately after his conquest and annexation of Piṣṭapura. It is evident from this that the coastal districts of Visakhapatnam, East Godavary, West Godavary Krishna and Guntur were conquered and occupied by Pulakēśin by 617 A.D. It is well known that these Early Cāḷukyas took Vēṅgī from the Durjayas. It is imperative therefore that Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule must have ended by 615 A.D. at the latest. The date 388 A.D. for the commencement of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule is equally untenable. Seven generations of Śalānkāyana kings ruled over Vēṅgī before this Viṣṇukuṇḍins and a minimum of 175 years has to be assigned for the duration of their rule.[72] This places the

69. *Ibid.*, p. 580.
70. *Bhārati*, June 1965, p. 28.
71. *C.P. grants in A.P. Govt. Museum.*
72. *Jour. Ind. Hist.* XI-2, p. 565.

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commencement of Śalaṅkāyana rule in (388-175) 213 A.D. The imperial Sātavāhanas were still ruling at this date and this precludes the possibility of the rule of the Śālaṅkāyanas as an independent family at this date. For these reasons, the commencement of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule has to be assigned to about the middle of the fifth century A.D. and its end to 615 A.D.

Taking S. 488 expired, corresponding to 566-567 A.D and the regnal years mentioned in the c.p. grants as the basis the chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins may be re-stated as follows:—

		A.D.
Vikramēndravarman	..	450–458
Gōvindavarman	..	458–468
Mādhavavarman	..	468–518
Vikramēndra I	..	518–528
Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman	..	528–555
Vikramēndra II	..	555–566
Indravarman	..	566–570
Mādhavavarman	..	570–575
Gōvindavarman	..	575–615

An Important Synchronism

The grant of Vikramēndravarman supplies an important synchronism when it mentions that this Viṣṇukuṇḍin king defeated a Pallava, named Siṁhavarman, in the 11th year of his reign corresponding to S. 488 expired or 566-567 A.D. The fact that this king's subordinate, Mūlarāja, saved the kingdom from imminent extinction adds to the value of this synchronism.

Who was this Pallava Siṁhavarman? The Sanskrit grants of the Pallavas obtained from the Nellore and Guṇṭur districts mention Kumāravisnu, his son Skandavarman, grandson Vīravarman and great-grandson Skandavarman II. This Skandavarman II had two sons, Siṁhavarman, the elder and Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa, the younger. The Yuvamahāraja's son was Siṁhavarman II and grandson, Viṣṇugōpa II.[73] The next Pallava king who ruled over part of Coastal Āndhradēśa was Mahēndravarman I, generally

73. Nos. 51-58 of my *Inscriptions of Āndhradēśa* for summaries of these Pallava grants.

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ascribed to 600-630 A.D. Calculating backwards and allowing a reign of 25 years for Viṣṇugōpa II, we have to assign his father Siṁhavarman II, to 550-575 A.D. This Siṁhavarman could be the contemporary of Vikramēndravarman II who ruled between 555-566 A.D. Thus the identity of the Pallava rival of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king is proved. This identification can be corroborated otherwise. Siṁhavarman II is known from four c.p. grants—the Omgōḍu grant dated in the 4th year,[74] the Pikira grant dated in the 5th year,[75] the Mangadūr grant dated in the 8th year[76] and the Vilavaṭṭi grant dated in the 10th year[77] of his reign. Of these, the Mangadūr grant registers the gift of a village in the *Vēṅgōrāṣṭra*, which seems to have been a scribal error for *Vēṅgī-rāṣṭra* and which must have contained the area on the southern fringe of the Vēṅgī kingdom. Obviously, Pallava Siṁhavarman seized and occupied this area in the southern part of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom for some time. This must have involved the Pallava and the Viṣṇukuṇḍin in a serious conflict.

The details of this conflict can be inferred from the c.p. grants. Vikramēndravarman is known to have gifted a village in the *Nētrapāṭi-viṣaya*, identical with the area on either bank of the Krishna, in the 10th year of his reign as shown by his Chikkuḷḷa plates. By the next regnal year, he defeated Pallava Siṁhavarman as shown by his new grant under discussion. Siṁhavarman must have invaded the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dominion in the 8th year of his own reign and probably threatened its capital, Vēṅgī. Then Mūlarāja, a Viṣṇukuṇḍin subordinate, defeated the invading Pallava and averted a great calamity. Vikramēndravarman must have pursued the retreating Pallava army across the Krishna and inflicted a severe defeat on Siṁhavarman. This must have happened towards the end of the 10th year of Vikramēndra's reign which corresponds to 565 A.D. This must also have been the 9th year of Siṁhavarman's reign corresponding to 556 A.D. This dates the commencement of Siṁhavarman's reign in 547 A.D. This thus becomes a fixed point in Pallava chronology.

74. *E.I. XV*, pp. 252-256.
75. *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 159-163.
76. *I.A.*, V. pp. 154-157.
77. *E.I.*, XXIV, pp. 296-303.

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Extent of the Visnukundin Kingdom

The two c.p. grants under discussion help us to determine the extent of the kingdom of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. They contain gifts made to two *Vihāras* at Śakrapura, which is identical with the area now known as Indrapālanagara, situated between the river Mūsī and a tank near the village of Tummalacheruvu in the Rāmannapēṭa taluk in the northern part of the Nalgoṇḍa district. A number of Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins have been obtained from the excavations conducted at Yēlēśvaram in the Dēvarakoṇḍa taluk in the southern part of the same district.[78] I have published a selection of these coins obtained from the Bhōngīr taluk of the same district and from the Sultānābad taluk of the Karimnagar district.[79] It is clear therefore that the entire district of Nalgoṇḍa and part of Karīmnagar were under Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule. The *Nētrapāṭiviṣaya*, mentioned in the Chikkuḷḷa plates, is taken to have comprised the Nandigāma taluk of the Krishna district, the Madhira taluk of the Khammamet district and the territory situated on the other bank of the Krishna, facing these taluks.[80] Vēṅgī, the home province of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, lay between the Godavary in the north and the Krishna in the south. Thus the dominions of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins lay on either bank of the Krishna, stretching far beyond the eastern ghats.

The Visnukundins and Buddhism

Mahārājā Mādhavavarman is described in the Polamūru, Īpūr I, Īpūr II, Rāmatīrtham, Chikkuḷḷa and Tūṇḍi plates as a devotee of the Lord of Śrīparvata and the performer of eleven *aśvamēdhas* and other sacrifices. His grandson, Mādhavavarman II, was a devotee of the Lord of Śrīparvata.[81] Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, another grandson of the monarch, was a Paramēśvara.[82] The latter's son, Vikramēndra II gifted a village to the Sōmagirīśvaranātha temple of Triyambaka.[83] It has been held in view of this

78. Waheed Khan-*Yelesvaram Excavations*, No. 56-57.
79. *A.P. Govt. Archaeological Series.*
80. B. V. Krishna Rao—*Early Dynasties of Āndhradēśa*, p. 503.
81. *Īpūr* II, plates.
82. Rāmatīrtham plates.
83. Chikkulla plates.

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information, that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were ardent devotees of the brāhmanical faith.

The two c.p. grants under discussion fling a surprise by depicting these rulers as followers and patrons of Buddhism. Vikramēndra II is said to have been a keen student of Buddhist philosophy and as a builder of many *vihāras*. His grandfather, Vikramēndra I, was a *Paramaśangata*. A queen raised a *mahāvihāra*. Another king, Gōvindavarman, was a *Mahābōdhi-vitta*. Thus three Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings are known to have been devotees of Buddhism.

Other Interesting Facts

The two grants under discussion contain many other interesting facts. We come to know, for the first time, that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were *Brahma-Kṣatras*. Vikramēndravarman II is given the title *uttamāśraya* and his father, Indrabhaṭṭāraka the title *Satyaśraya*. This is in consonance with the title *Vikramāśraya*, borne by Gōvindavarman and the title *janāśraya*, borne by Mādhavavarman, who were the second and third rulers of the dynasty. Mādhavavarman is said to have ruled over a wide area extending upto the Narmadā and this explains his title "the beloved of the women of Tivaranagara" known from other sources. Vikramēndra I is described as *mahākavi*.

Some Problems

The two grants under discussion raise several problems. From the grants hitherto published, Vikramēndravarman II is known to have been the last king. We come to know now that he adopted a certain Mādhavarāja. Did this Mādhavarāja ascend the Viṣṇukuṇḍin throne after Vikramēndra II and rule? Secondly, what was the relationship between the branch of Gōvindavarman and the main line of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family? In the third place, the grant of Vikramēndravarman states that queen Paramabhaṭṭārikāmahādēvī was born in the family of Pṛthvīmūla Rāja. Is this Pṛthvīmūla identical with the issuer of the Godavary plates? What was the relationship between this queen and Vikramēndravarman II? She is mentioned along with a Gōvindarāja. How were the two related? Who was this Gōvindarāja? These are problems that await solution.

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New Light on Mirza Rajah Jai Singh's Policy in Bijapur

BY

DR. JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR, *Jadavpur*

The late Sir J. N. Sarkar has dealt with Jai Singh's invasion of Bijapur (1665-66) in detail,[1] dwelling on (i) the causes of war with Bijapur, (ii) his diplomatic intrigues in alienating Shivaji from Adil Shah, seducing Bijapuri nobles and officers, inducing Qutb Shah not to join Bijapur, (iii) his military resources and preparations, (iv) the course of the invasion,—first his uninterrupted march to Bijapur, then the set-back and finally his retreat, (v) his failure, the financial loss of the Mughals and the Emperor's displeasure. All these events, stage by stage, have been woven in a story of absorbing interest, marked by mastery of details, culled from different contemporary sources, — the official history, the *'Alamgirnamah,* the Rajah's despatches contained in the *Haft Anjuman,* Manucci, Bhimsen Burhanpuri's *Nushka-i-Dilkusha,* and other reliable, though later, sources, — Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab ul Lubab* and the *Basatin us Salatin.* While seeking to vindicate the position of Jai Singh—by pointing out that he had inadequate army, insufficient war material and food supply as against the then unimpaired strength of Bijapur as compared to that twenty years later, — Sir J. N. Sarkar has very rightly concluded that "the Rajah had never a fair chance in the war", and "died, overwhelmed with loss, disappointment and public disgrace."

Sir J. N. Sarkar, however, has not discussed the immediate sequel of the failure of the expedition, the reactions of the defeat on the mind of that veteran general and his suggestions to retrieve his honour. These are available in his secret despatches to his suspicious master whom he loyally served till his death, as given in the *Haft Anjuman.*[1a] Perhaps Sir J. N. Sarkar did not con-

1. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb,* IV. ch. XLI.
1a. except a few lines in *ibid.,* 146-47.

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sider these necessary in a general history of Aurangazeb. But the biographer of the Rajah must necessarily take these into account. They not only throw new light on Jai Singh's military tactics in Bijapur and reveal his optimism but also give his own defence before his prosecuting master. An attempt has been made in this paper to throw light on these points.

1. *Jai Singh's war tactics in Bijapur*

Though Jai Singh's campaign proved to be a failure he did not lose heart and was keen on recovering his prestige. But exaggerated and incorrect reports of the war seem to have reached the Emperor and prejudiced his mind against the Rajah. The latter hastened to dispel any wrong impression in the mind of the Emperor. "The incorrect news about the Bijapur expedition which has reached the imperial ears has no truth in it. The body of people who had to suffer defeat there are reduced to dire extremities".[2] Jai Singh's efforts, however, do not appear to have been successful.

Both the Emperor and the General were equally anxious to retrieve the fallen prestige of the imperial army. But they differed on the plan. So when Aurangzeb sent instructions, Jai Singh sent counter-proposals. On receiving the news of the failure the Emperor personally wrote a letter to Jai Singh, containing his views as to what he considered to be the best means of turning the tide. Jai Singh received it on 16th Shaban (11th February, 1666). But the Rajah begged to differ. In the first place, Aurangzeb suggested the establishment of *thanahs* from Parenda to Bijapur, the despatch of an army to punish the Bijapuris and the safeguarding of the provision of supplies to the imperial army. To this Jai Singh politely pointed out that the proposal to establish *thanahs* was too late, and that the construction of forts along the way from the Mughal frontier to Bijapur was a time-absorbing process that was not likely to be effective or successful. As he wrote to the Emperor: "I have already sent a detailed *arzdasht* regarding the abandonment of the siege of the Bijapur fort. Had it not been the case I would have appointed a force to punish those who had invaded the imperial dominions and established police

2. *Haft Anjman* (abbreviated H.A.) 91 b.

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posts on the way of the coming of the enemy, in spite of the obstructions placed by those short-sighted enemies. If I had erected forts everywhere and left the *thanahdars* there, it would have taken a long time, and a smaller number of people outside the shelter of the *thanah* would have perished. The Emperor might have come to know of the harm done to the enemies and the punishment meted out to them from place to place....I hope that ....this expedition would be brought to a successful end".[3]

Further, Jai Singh boldly pointed out that the Bijapur campaign, in order to be crowned with success, required much greater preparation than what was made, and that considering the various odds at his end, he should not be asked to hurry up, i.e. branded with infamy. The Rajah continues: "Your Majesty knows how small Shivaji's territory is and yet how very long our troops had to fight against him (before achieving success). Surely, a war against such a kingdom requires very great effort and organisation (of resources). Knowing that the conquest of Bijapur is the prelude (*muqadamma*) to the conquest of all Deccan and Karnatak, Qutb ul Mulk and other zamindars of the South have thrown the veil off the face of devotion and obedience and they have united their interests (with Adil Khan) and are acting in unison. If this is the situation it is a matter of anxiety and requires earnest planning. I pray that I, who do not require any injunction as regards devotion and performance of imperial service, may not be required to hurry up'.[4]

Secondly, Aurangzeb even thought of proceeding in person to the Deccan in order to bring the expedition to a successful close. Jai Singh's robust optimism led him to dissuade his master from undertaking this step. It was unnecessary, he held. Moreover, Jai Singh also considered the task of subduing Bijapur to be well within the range of practical accomplishment by the imperial army, i.e., by himself and even without the personal intervention and presence of the Emperor. As he wrote to the Emperor: "As regards what Your Majesty has written about the nice sense of honour which makes the emperor think of proceeding to this side, when your slaves are always ready to put their utmost exertions,

3. *Ibid.*, 89 b, 90a.
4. *Ibid.*, 90 a. For the strength of Shivaji's army, see Sarkar, *op.cit.*, 126-7.

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why should Your Sacred Majesty take such trouble? The accomplishment of this task would not be beyond the capacity of your servants".[5]

Dilating further on this point he asserted that he never considered the task to be beyond the strength of the Empire. What was imperatively necessary was "to bring about disorder and disunion in the camp of the enemy". A shrewd diplomat, he considered it "necessary to detach three races", — the Afghans, the Abyssinians and the Mahdavi sect, — from the enemy and win them over to the side of the Mughals, by offer of rewards, *mansabs* and grant of jagirs. But the greatest difficulty arose from the fact that owing to marches and counter-marches of the armies of the Mughals and the Bijapuris and the plundering activities of the Marathas, and the consequent wholesale devastation and depopulation of the surrounding regions, especially the *taluqas* of Naldrug, Sholapur and Gulbarga near the fort of Bijapur, the offer of *jagirs* in those areas was not proving attractive enough to the potential Bijapuri deserters.[6]

In fact the seduction of the Bijapuris and other Deccanis was a very costly affair. Aurangzeb at first objected to such expenditure as being wasteful. Jai Singh counter-argued and sought imperial sanction for the same. "I know full well that the expenses of this expedition would not be like those of Balkh and Kandahar, (i.e. utterly useless), which did not yield adequate return and that after the conquest of such an extensive kingdom (i.e. Bijapur), we can get ample compensation...".[7]

After politely demolishing the arguments of his master, Jai Singh unfolded his own master strategy for effecting the overthrow of Bijapur, — the need of having two armies, one for offensive purposes against Bijapur and the other for defensive purposes, i.e. protecting the imperial dominions from the surprise raids of the Bijapuris. The necesessity of adopting this strategy was brought home to him by the experiences of the campaign. During the cam-

5. *H.A.*, 90 a-b. The idea of Aurangzeb's going personally to the Deccan in 1666 is wholly new.

6. *H.A.*, 90-b; Sarkar, *op.cit.* 145. Shivaji's Plunder of Hukeri and Raibagh, *H.A.*, 91 a. On account of devastation the revenue of jagirs would fall below the expected yield.

7. *H.A.*, 91 a; Sarkar, *op.cit.*, 145.

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paign it was found that the Bijapuris followed "Cossack tactics' and guerilla warfare, making sudden and harassing raids on the imperial army and dominions and dislocating the latter, without coming face to face in a decisive engagement. The Mughals, on the other hand, had to be always prepared for a dual task, making aggression on the Bijapuris and at the same time being on the alert to resist their sudden swoops. A single army found it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to keep its eyes now ahead and now behind. It was impossible for Jai Singh to be Janus-eyed.

This reveals Jai Singh's generalship, based on his clear assessment of the military situation and its complexities, which do not seem to have been adequately appreciated by Aurangzeb from a distance. Jai Singh also analysed the advantages of this course. It would render the personal advance of the Emperor to the Deccan unnecessary. Jai Singh would assume the responsibility of such an expedition under these conditions. It would counter the concerted movements of the two Deccani Sultanates. It would prevent the Bijapuris from indulging in the harassing tactics in Mughal domains without the necessity of launching any offensive against them. An offensive was sure to 'invite resistance' from them. Jai Singh wanted to avoid launching a large-scale offensive in view of the fundamental weaknesses of his position. While the proposed two armies of the imperialists would always act in unison, their identities must be kept separate.

These ideas may best be studied in Jai Singh's own despatches: ".... Sometimes both these wicked people (i.e. Bijapur and Golkonda) get together and attain stability. The reality of the situation will be speedily ascertained. They have no legs of stability to stand on. And they are extending the hand of plunder in every direction. If a small force is sent against them they hem it around and provide themselves with goods and property. But in the face of a bigger force they take to their heels The advance of the imperial servants is for *mulkgiri* (conquest). To look behind is for the purpose of protection of the imperial domain. To precipitate matters is to invite resistance. To me it is crystal clear that two armies are necessary for the purpose of protecting imperial territories, the length and breadth of which are known to Your Majesty. When we, the slaves of the empire, advance for punishing the

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enemies of the empire and conquering territories of the hypocrites, another force should be left on this side (i.e. behind). The objective of both the armies would be the same, viz. the protection of the imperial dominions. They should be appointed for achieving this purpose. The ultimate object of the conjunction of the two armies is really for the purpose of the advance. Although it is probable that at the time when the imperial dominions are denuded of the victorious army, being engaged in devastating their territories,—the accursed enemies might not turn their attention towards this side; yet if they do so, both the armies,—those who are advancing and those with me,—would fall upon them. In the event of this enemy's not turning to this side, both the armies would, in unison, punish them adequately. If they divide themselves and raise tumult on two sides, these two armies of ours would adopt remedial measures against them. But it is necessary to distinguish between the two armies and keep them separate in view of the vastness of the imperial domains as well as the need of adopting caution on both sides. If I make a request for both these forces, I know that it might not be in accord with Your Majesty's wishes."[8]

The implementation of the scheme, so reasonably and forcefully outlined by Jai Singh was not free from difficulties, even if the initial opposition of the Emperor was overcome and imperial sanction obtained. Jai Singh, therefore, placed these before the Emperor. True, the Emperor had invested Jai Singh, in the very beginning of the expedition, with absolute authority in conducting the Bijapur capaign.[9] But in practice his position was very much weakened by recalcitration among his subordinates and disloyal negligence of officers and spies. Naturally Jai Singh was very much perturbed over this and tried to adopt remedial measures so that the unity of the Mughal army might not be hampered in any way. In anticipation of imperial sanction he set apart a force consisting of the armies of Daud Khan, Qutb ud din Khan and others, evidently as a temporary and working arrangement. While he himself would continue to be the general of the original and main army, the leadership of the second army should be conferred,—

8. *H.A.*, 91 b-92 a.
9. *H.A.*, 71 a.

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as he recommended to the Emperor, — on Maharajah Jaswant Singh. Anticipating that his suggestion of Jaswant's name might cause heart-burning among other Mughal generals, Jai Singh pleaded with Aurangzeb to keep it a closely-guarded secret and to issue a peremptory order appointing Jaswant the second commander with the task of protecting the imperial dominions, and warning all recalcitrant and discontented elements with the threat of dismissal from service and deprivation of *jagirs*.

Let Jai Singh himself speak: ".... in view of what I know of Your Majesty's mind, I have set apart, as stated in a separate sheet, a force consisting of the contingents of Daud Khan, Qutb ud din Khan and others. I request that an army might be despatched from the imperial court. Maharajah Jaswant Singh also is with Your Majesty. If approved, the Maharajah might be sent at the head of an army from the Court. After the appointment of both these armies which will ensure composure of mind, Your Majesty's servants will not spare any effort in engaging in battles and encounters, whether it was the rainy season or not. If my name is brought in in this matter and Daud Khan and Qutb ud din Khan come to know that this counsel and request had been made by me, they might show disgust in accepting this service, or they might request for a selected body of the imperial force to be placed under them. The difference it would make in the final issue of the affair would be quite evident to Your Majesty. The Emperor may issue an order and I hope that if these people want some other men from my contingent it may not be accepted. Rather a peremptory order should be issued in my name to the effect that if any one proposed different names for deputation from the pick of the army, he would go against Your Majesty's wishes and that he would be dismissed from his service and deprived of his *jagir*. If orders are issued on these lines it would ensure the security of the imperial dominions."[9a]

Not less important than the question of leadership of the army was the problem of maintaining regular supplies of provisions and materials to it. The past experience of Jai Singh in this respect had not been happy at all. So Jai Singh requested the Emperor to issue a *farman* entrusting this task to Daud Khan.[10]

9a. H.A., 92 a-b.
10. *H.A.*, 92 b.

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Further, one of the principal causes of the failure of the compaign was inefficient and corrupt—corrupt and therefore inefficient—espionage. Jai Singh's spies were "liars, pro-Deccanis and greedy of gain."[11] So he wrote to the Emperor: "it is imperatively necessary to depute trustworthy *bakhshis* and *waqa navises* in both the armies so that people may be called into account and that at the time of emergency they may not put forward lame excuses and seek safety therein".[12]

2. *Jai Singh pleads his own defence*

Far from accepting the revised war strategy of his veteran and loyal general, Aurangzeb recalled him from the theatre of war, suspended the campaign and made him the scapegoat of failure. In the words of Sir J. N. Sarkar Aurangzeb "refused to forgive Jai Singh the one failure in his life."

But the despatches of the disgraced Rajah formed his best defence. These did not constitute special pleading but exonerate him from blame.

First, the question of initiative. Humbly but forcefully he argued that the initiative in the Bijapur campaign had come from the Emperor and not from him. This is true. "I had not taken the initiative in this work and thought that this expedition would be undertaken in accordance with the royal orders. Now that the responsibility has devolved upon me, I pray to God night and day that the affair of this expedition should be accomplished in the way desired by the well-wishers of the court. Till life is present in the body, I shall continue in the service of the Emperor. I have no other desire to put forward except that till breath remains in my body I should not be remiss in doing my duty."[13] In fact it was Aurangzeb who, while appointing Jai Singh Viceroy of the Deccan, had instructed him to wage war both against Shivaji and Bijapur simultaneously. It was Jai Singh who counselled caution and did not deem it "wise to attack both these fools at the same

11. *H.A.*, 89 b; Sarkar, *op.cit.*, 149.
12. *H.A.*, 92 b.
13. *H.A.*, 93 b-94 a. The initiative in the Bijapur Campaign of 1657-8 was taken by Mir Jumla.

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time".[14] He undertook the Bijapur expedition after the submission of Shivaji and as the second part of the imperial order.

Second, the question of preparedness. In carrying out the imperial order Jai Singh had to face several handicaps. Admittedly he had to invade Bijapur with incomplete preparations, hopelessly inadequate army, insufficient money, insufficient food supply and war materials. His artillery, the one single weapon to batter down all resistance of the defenders of the fort of Bijapur, was extremely weak.[15] As against the famous *Malik i maidan* and other long range and large calibre artillery of Bijapur, Jai Singh had only seven cannon with him. So he requisitioned 40 to 50 large pieces of cannon from the Deccan fortresses. He put down the bare minimum to be 30.[16] Powder, shot and rockets in the same proportion and adequate for such an important task were also necessary. But even when he started, the much-needed, most essential prerequisites, the big guns and siege materials, had not arrived from Parenda. The result was that Jai Singh was not prepared for a regular siege, and,—because of the military preparations, the wise plans of combined defence and reprisal, and the 'scorched earth' policy of Adil Shah and the harassing guerilla warfare of the Bijapuris,—Jai Singh found his position extremely critical. Artillery was the Achilles' heel of Jai Singh in Bijapur. Aurangzeb did nothing to rectify this weakness.

Besides artillery Jai Singh was also weak in finance. The three months' war with Shivaji preceding the Bijapur campaign had cost more than twenty-two lakhs. On the eve of the invasion of Bijapur Jai Singh found to his alarm that the salary of his *mansabdars* and artillerymen was in arrears for six months. Jai Singh's policy of seducing Bijapuri nobles and officers and the *zamindars* as well as the Karnatakis and Abyssinians in the Bijapuri army, the Siddis of Janjira and others also involved a huge drain of money. To win the war by using the golden key and casting the diplomatic web widely Jai Singh pressed the Emperor for speedy supply of money.[17] He got thirty lakhs from the im-

14. *H.A.*, 68 a; Bengal: Past and Present, Sarkar, *op.cit.*, 118.
15. *H.A.*, Bengal: Past and Present, Sarkar, 126-128.
16. *H.A.*, Sarkar, *op.cit.*
17. *H.A.*, Sarkar, 121-126.

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perial treasury only. But he had to spend more than a crore from his own pocket,[18] without any hope of recovery of even a part of it.

Third. Aurangzeb's unreasonable haste. After the submission of Shivaji, Jai Singh delayed the march to Bijapur. Some breathing time was of course necessary after one campaign. He had to use diplomacy to undermine Bijapuri resistance. He had to endeavour to pacify Qutb Shah. He had to make administrative arrangements for imperial domains and also for Shivaji's territory. Postings of imperial officers had to be made, rewards and favours to deserving cases had to be given. More important than these, perhaps, was the problem of ensuring the supply of artillery, grain and musketeers, shots, lead and powder. This task had been entrusted to Saf Shikan Khan by imperial orders and Jai Singh hoped that he would leave no stone unturned in performing these services.[19]

All this delay, necessary for the success of the expedition and administrative expediency, made Aurangzeb anxious. In his eagerness he sent urgent exhortations to Jai Singh to expedite (*takid talab*). Jai Singh replied that 'this old slave' did not require such exhortations in the performance of the services assigned. Of course Jai Singh assured his master that he himself was not at all unmindful of the delay. Rather he was impatient to start. His plan was to take Adil Shah in a state of unpreparedness, to take him by surprise, when the Bijapuri army was disunited and the Sultan's nobles and officers, seduced by him secretly, were eager to desert their master and come over to the Mughals as soon as they entered Bijapur.[20] So any delay, Jai Singh knew, was dangerous. Adil Shah would strengthen his position and put Bijapur in a state of defence. As he wrote to Aurangzeb: "These days when the imperial army is standing idly, without work and the enemy are

18. *H.A.*, Sarkar, 148.

19. *H.A.*, 73 a. Jai Singh's impatience to start, referred to by Sir J.N. Sarkar, seems to be due more to Aurangzeb's goad than to his own realisation. Jai Singh's diplomatic intrigues, 72 a, 76 a-77 a; 78, 79; inducing Qutb Shah, *H.A.*, 78 b; administrative arrangements in Mahuli, 73 b-74 a; Shivaji's territories; Diwan Safi Khan to administer, *H.A.*, 76 a: for Shivaji, *H.A.* 75a, 77 b; postings of officers, *H.A.*, 71 b-72 a; favours to officers, *H.A.*, 72 b, 73.

20. *H.A.*, 85 a: Sarkar, *op.cit.*, 128.

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using this respite to gain strength day by day. The delay of a day now is equivalent to the loss of a year."[21]

Yet there was delay. It was inevitable in the then situation. Jaswant had to explain the reasons of delay. It was due to the imperative need of artillery and finance. "It was for quick action that I wrote to Saf Shikan Khan that, having supplied (to the army) shot and powder to serve the purpose of seven big cannon which are with us, he should despatch other cannon with their accessories through the direct road of Parenda. The news had been spread about the start being made from this place on 20th Rabi us sani (20th October, 1665) and he was asked to exert himself in taking charge of the houses and habitations lying on the way until the arrival of the cannon. But the treasure ordered from the provincial treasury of Malwa had not yet arrived and there was no sign of its having even started .... As regards conveying the treasure to Karnoor, Pir Khan had written. As soon as it is received, the time would be notified and the march would begin. There is no desire to make a delay. It was very far seeing of Your Majesty to choose Saf Shikan Khan for making the arrangements for the march and other matters, otherwise the fact of the non-arrival of the treasure is known to Your Majesty."[22]

On another occasion Jai Singh explained: "I had sent particulars through Naurang before this in an *arzdasht*. The delay in setting out for Bijapur is due to the expectation of the arrival of the treasure. The victorious army is standing idly. As soon as the treasure arrives here and the demands of the seekers of salary are met, I will select a suitable time and proceed to execute the task entrusted to my hands without any delay or hesitation."[23]

Jai Singh had again to account for the delay in starting for the expedition: "As regards the imperial order to me to start on the expedition soon, I have borne it in mind. As far as possible, I never make any delay in performing the services entrusted to me. The treasure amounting to 20 lakhs of rupees was received on 14th Jumadi I (13th November, 1665). Immediately I set my-

21. *H.A.*, 74 a: Sarkar, 127-128.
22. *H.A.*, 74 a: Sarkar, 128-129.
23. *H.A.*, 78 a.

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self during the remainder of the month to make due arrangements and pay the salaries due to the troops and started on 21st (20th Nov. 1665). The delay that occurred of a few days was owing to the need of despatching Mulla Ahmad and effecting abatement of baggages and accoutrements of the army ...."[24]

Fourth. These initial handicaps and disadvantages were aggravated by the recalcitration, non-co-operation and insubordination of his lieutenants, Dilar Khan, Daud Khan, and Qutb ud din and disloyal negligence of the *qiladar* of Parenda and betrayals of corrupt spies. About the disaffection (*dilgiri*) of Dilir Khan, Jai Singh wrote to the Emperor: ".... Although it would be impudent to submit repeatedly that this obstruction should be removed, yet owing to the fact that the things submitted have often come from our own army, there is a likelihood of disunion occurring among the imperial servants on the disclosure of these matters. Although the enemy is worthless, he might get scent of it and set his affairs aright. In the case of both these situations it is necessary to observe caution in my *arzdasht* specially with a view to removing this obstruction from that side (i.e. Emperor)."[25]

Daud Khan and Qutb ud din Khweshgi exhibited recalcitration during the Bijapuri siege of Mughal post of Mangalbira (3rd February, 1666): "As a big force along with the people of that side of the enemies was nestling under the forts of Sholapur and Naldrug, waiting for an opportunity (to strike), if the victorious army went to the relief of the besiege of the fort (i.e. Mangalbira), the Bijapuris, distressed in their circumstances, might have entered the imperial territories and raised tumults. Accordingly I ordered Daud Khan and Qutb ud din with Right (*maimanah*) and Rearguard (*chandawul*) wings to go to its relief; for the enemy was reported to have numbered not more than 5000 horse and 6000 foot. I with two other armies led by Dilir Khan and Rajah Rai Singh was to have marched against the bigger (Bijapuri) army (*fauj i kallan*). These generals wasted some days in vain discussions (*harf o hakaik*), and when strongly pressed, they flatly refused to go unless the Left wing (*maisarah*) led by Rajah Rai Singh was

24. *H.A.*, 81 b.

25. *H.A.*, 82 b.

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sent with them. I had no help but to consent to it. Allowing the three armies to depart, I had to stay behind myself, apprehending the bigger army of the enemy either to proceed towards this side or raid the imperial territories; in the latter case I would pursue them and chastise them adequately." That the Bijapuris did not dare make a move and that at the approach of the three armies they raised the siege of Mangalbira and retreated did in no way minimise the gravity of the crisis to which these two officers exposed the Mughal army. Jai Singh suggested to the Emperor their transfer and an enquiry into their conduct,[26] as "both of them adopted the same line and developed the same habit", and this might have a reforming effect on them. It is crystal clear that the unity of command in Jai Singh's army and his absolute authority were reduced to nullity in practice by his able lieutenants, who, by their disobedience and disloyalty, paralysed the army and lessened the chances of success of the imperial army.

Another sin of commission of Mughal officers dislocated the food supply of the army. The manner in which Jai Singh reported the matter to the Emperor about the disloyal negligence of the *qiladar* of Parenda shows his sense of helplessness and despair at the sorry state of the Mughal army: "I am motivated by no other consideration than the performance of service to the empire in bringing an accusation against the servants of the Court. But I have been appointed to look after the management of the army (*ihtamam i lashkar*) and have to state facts. I had given an account of the facts about the *qiladar* of Parenda. During this time Saf Shikan Khan had gathered a large number of *banjaras* (grain merchants) and had sent them. Relying on this very thing, I had thought that, having made arrangements for the provision of grain, I would proceed to the accomplishment of the object in view. But this man (i.e. *qiladar* of Parenda) made no arrangements for the pacification of the *banjaras*. He did not keep them under control, with the result that they dispersed and went away. Now after great efforts twenty thousand oxen of the *banjaras* had been gathered and the grain is being spent day after day. Although he is being asked to keep an eye on the imperial *karkhanas* and leave the camp followers near the moat (*khandak*) he puts forward

26. *H.A.*, 93 a.

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excuses which are not worthy of credence. But the fact is that this is the place suitable for the provisions of such a kind. Sikandar was killed uselessly, after having been bought from Parenda although he fought valiantly and ended his devoted life. If all these efforts had been made in proper time with a good force something could have been achieved...."[27]

Jai Singh's army suffered not only from inadequacy, in numbers, deficiency in artillery and war materials, discontent and insubordination among his lieutenants and gross negligence in supply of food and provisions, but its effectiveness as a fighting machine was undermined by what in modern terminology would be called 'Fifth columnists'. The gravity of the danger was heightened by the fact that the Mughal secret service itself, the agency to checkmate and nip such activities in the bud, was the hot-bed of corruption and hence utterly inefficient. In his despatch to the Emperor Jai Singh expressed his sense of despair as follows: "The fact about the couriers (*harkaras*) is, as remarked by the Emperor, that even the tenth part of their news is not in consonance with facts: and this is quite evident to the Emperor. Although there is none at Bijapur who can detect the falsehood in their statements, yet the nature of their news and other signs of these ignoble and worthless people give clear proof that they are liars, selfish, greedy of gain and pro-Deccanis. For some time when the enemy forces were at a distance of ten or twelve *kos* from the imperial army it was repeatedly ascertained that the Bijapuris bribed them into betraying to them all information about the imperial army, big or small. Whatever they say is against the truth. The presence of these people in the victorious camp is tantamount to giving the spies of the enemy access to us."[28]

Jai Singh was thus placed in the uncomfortable and unenviable position of a corn between two millstones, one above and the other below. Above him there was a master, exacting, but suspicious and heartless, who ill-appreciated the fundamental weaknesses and practical difficulties of Jai Singh in the theatre of war and who was loath to accept the responsibility of his own orders but ever ready to deride his veteran and loyal general and to doubt his

27. *H.A.*, 93 a-b.
28. *H.A.*, 89; Sarkar, 149.

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bonafides. Below him there were subordinates, who were discontented, disobedient and disloyal, flouting his orders or delaying action on them or indulging in negligent or corrupt and subversive action. No general could expect to come out unscathed out of two such enveloping fires and to lead his men to victory in such stagnant and unpromising conditions. It is a sad reflection on the state of the Mughal army even during the life-time of Aurangzeb under a veteran commander of a hundered campaigns like Jai Singh. So far as Jai Singh himself was concerned, he had ungrudgingly borne the burden of responsibility for the expedition, dictated by imperial mandate but not advised by the general. He also assured his master that he would faithfully do so till the end of his life. But the whole burthen of his despatches was that the acceptance of responsibility does not necessarily mean that the stigma of failure should attach to him. It was an irony of fate that the person ordering the campaign should so shamefacedly shift his responsibility on to the shoulders of his agent. It would not be a matter of surprise if Aurangzeb, cut to the quick by the inexorable logic of these arguments of his general, thought it fit to remove the servant, however loyal, experienced and serviceable, who, by implication, had the impudence to ink the master's face.

Jai Singh's defence given during his life time is to be found in his despatches. After his death his posterior defence was given by Aurangzeb's own campaign twenty years (1685-6) later. Aurangzeb himself took 18 months to beat the already dying state of Bijapur with the entire resources of the whole empire. Did Aurangzeb pause to ponder over the work of Jai Singh in Bijapur, then in an inestimably stronger state putting forward a more resolute defence and revise his judgment on that general?

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Indo-American Trade Relations 1866-1880

BY

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U.S. Consuls in India

The United States Consuls in India were dissatisfied that no fixed salary was as yet attached to their job. Kittridge was acting as Vice-Consul at Bombay and was not promoted to Consul in spite of his repeated requests.[1] During Kittridge's short absence, John W. Jones was appointed Consul at Bombay, but finding the remuneration negligible, he did not take up the duties.[2] Mr. Kittridge also resigned on December 31, 1870. Benjamin Tarnham succeeded him as Consul, but he too wrote to the Secretary of State that : "I have the honour to inform you that this Consulate is rapidly growing in importance and as Bombay is now the commercial metropolis of all India, it appears to me that I should come under the head of 'salaried Consuls' with permission to do other business. When the Inspector of Consulates was here sometime since I made known to him the fact I am now stating to you. I enclose list of American ships now in harbour and list on the way due in about a month, you will perceive by this list that the Consular appointment can be no sinecure. I think the salary with permission to transact business should be $ 6000 per annum...."[3] Judge Marsh Giddings and George Butler did not join the Calcutta post, and from 1881 to 1905 the post of Consul-General remained vacant. It was only in the year 1905 that the Consul-General post carried a salary of $ 6000 a year, and Colonel William Michaels was the first salaried Consul-General of India.[4]

1. Bombay Consular Despatches, August 7, 1866.
2. *Ibid.*, Letter dated Ithaca, New York, July 12, 1867, to the Assistant Secretary of State.
3. *Ibid.*, November 16, 1871.
4. Calcutta Consular Despatches, 1868-1905, passim.

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Hostile Attitude of the Government of India:

Relations of U.S. Consuls with the Government of India were far from being cordial. In times of emergency, they received no help from the government, and the U.S. Consuls were helpless in cases of ordinary disorder on board American vessels.

W. Charles Colfin Caburn, Vice-Consul of Bombay, reported the following incident to the Secretary of State:

> I beg to report that on 7th August fourteen men of the crew of the American ship St. Paul's rose on their captain and officers using iron belaying pins in the attack in which the second officer was very seriously wounded. Being satisfied from enquiries that I made that the attack was premeditated and that it had been postponed from night till morning in deference to the Captain's wife who was on board, I had then brought before the Senior or Chief Magistrate of Police asking that officer to take the charge in hand and to deal with the offenders according to law. The Chief Magistrate, however, refused to interfere saying he had no jurisdiction; the prisoners who were Englishmen were shortly released..."[5]

Mr. Kittridge also reported a similar incident on board the American ship "Montpelier", but the police authorities refused any assistance to him.[6]

Thus, on one hand the civil authorities expressed their inability to interfere in any disorders arising on board American ships even if such disorders occurred while ships were in Indian waters; and, on the other hand, the High Court was interfering in cases which did not occur in Indian waters and wherein neither a British nor an Indian citizen was involved. Thus, complaining to the Governor of Bombay, Benjamin Tarnham wrote:

> I request to have to call your attention to the seizure of the American ship 'Augusta' while lying in this harbour. The seizure has been made in the name of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen by an order of the High Court of Bombay. This seizure in my humble opinion is contrary to the Law of Nations and was made without trial, even of the question of jurisdiction by the Consul here, while, as I am informed, it was apparent in the plaint before which process was issued that the High Court had set jurisdiction in the matter. The

5. Bombay Consular Despatches, September 25, 1867.
6. *Ibid.*, September 1, 1868.

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pretext for this seizure is that during the passage out of Rio de Janeiro, a French Barque called the 'Antares' came into collision with the 'Augusta' whereby the French vessel was disabled so that it is supposed she foundered at sea, the 'Augusta' bringing on to Bombay the Captain and crew of the French vessel. I have yet to learn what authority the High Court of Bombay or any British jurisdiction has to interfere. I shall report this seizure to the Government I have the honour to represent and I trust you will use your authority to remove the court's sepoys from the deck of the ship 'Augusta' and allow this ship to be free. Already this seizure of the ship 'Augusta' has lost her a character of five thousand pounds sterling. I do not know what steps may be necessary to take in future in regard to this seizure, but I have confidence that you will act promptly in this matter as your judgment may dictate.[7]

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay replied, however, that "the Government is not at liberty to interfere with action of the High Court in such cases".[8]

Benjamin Tarnham further called to the Governor's attention "the fact that the owners of the 'Augusta' will practically have no remedy against the owners and master of the 'Antares' for the damages that have been and will be sustained by reason to the seizure of the 'Augusta' or for the costs of appearing under protest in the High Court. The High Court has not thought fit before issuing its process to take security for costs, the only person in Bombay liable for such and for the damages is the master of the 'Antares' who from motives of humanity was brought to this port by the master of the 'Augusta' and who has no property but the clothes on his back. Under all the circumstances I must respectfully reserve to the Government I have the honour to represent such action as it may think fit to adopt for the protection of its citizens, the owners of the 'Augusta', from the loss they will sustain by the illegal seizure of their vessel and for the wrong done to the American flag by the assumption of jurisdiction in this matter by Her Majesty's High Court."[9]

7. *Ibid.*, April 4, 1873.
8. *Ibid.*, Despatch No. 182, 1873.
9. Bombay Consular Despatches, April 7, 1873.

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The United States Government, however, did not take any action and the owners of the "Augusta" appointed Tarnham to fight the case in Privy Council.[10]

Volume of Trade:

In spite of these adversities, trade between India and the United States was growing. Before the Civil War, trade had been increasing rapidly. The Civil War, however, did affect trade very adversely between the two countries. American cotton trade during the Civil War declined, because cotton prices were greatly enhanced and the demand for Indian cotton increased. The cotton growers of India were, therefore, greatly benefited and they converted all possible land into cotton growing areas. As a result, production of linseed decreased which had so long been the principal item of export from India to the United States. The following table shows the decrease in export of linseed from India to the United States during the five years following the Civil War and a gradual increase thereafter.

Export of Linseed to U.S.A.[11]

1864	488,769 cwts.
1865	300,257 „
1866	130,963 „
1867	127,788
1868	169,690 „
1869	99,348 „
1870	75,883 „
1871	295,255 „

Thus, the export of linseed was slowly rising again, and the U.S. Consul at Bombay expressed a hope that export would soon surpass its previous record.[12] However, his hopes did not materialize. Linseed was being grown in the western states of America and an import duty of twenty cents per bushel was imposed

10. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1876.
11. Bombay Consular Despatches, December 1, 1871
12. *Ibid.*,

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on all foreign linseed. Therefore, in 1876 Bombay exported 2,677,458 cwts. of linseed out of which only 8,431 cwts. of linseed was shipped to Amercia. The United States Consul at Bombay then reported to the Secretary of State that "Linseed grown in the western states of America appears to be driving East India linseed from the American market which evidently cannot bear an import duty of 20 cents per bushel."[13]

Same was the fate of the export of wool. Formerly, there had been a large trade in wool between Bombay and the United States. But in later years, the heavy duties in America on foreign wool crippled this branch of commerce very much. In 1876 Bombay exported 6442 bales of wool, but none went to America.[14] Kerosene oil was the greatest item of export to India from the U.S.A.

The total value of merchandise and treasure imported from each principal country is given below:

	1874-75[15]	1875-76[16]	1876-77[17]	1877-78[18]
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
U.K.	115,302,913	115,617,707	156,727,279	194,968,783
France	775,163	2,181,264	2,447,557	1,632,579
Italy	949,836	3,031,752	117,225,695	1,972,161
U.S.A.	664,574	581,938	609,474	1,192,286

Thus, in 1875-76, the U.S. trade had decreased by Rs. 82,636 as compared to previous years and in 1876-77 it had increased by Rs. 27,536 as compared to the previous year, and in 1877-78 it had further increased by Rs. 582,812 as compared to the previous year. The picture seems to be quite encouraging, considering the fact that India had been facing failure of crops during the last three years under review and the consequent famine.

13. *Ibid.*, November 12, 1877.
14. *Ibid.*, November 12 1877.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*, October 30, 1879.
17. *Ibid.*, July 5, 1880.
18. *Ibid.*

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The increase in American export to India is found in two items only; viz., gray cotton and kerosine oil as is shown below.[19]

	1874-75	1878-79
Gray cotton	387,000 yards	975,000 yards
	1875-76	1878-79
Kerosene oil	536,575 gallons	3,020,310 gallons

It should be remembered that large quantities of American drills were imported *via* England.

American trade would have been enormous had not there been a rapid decline in American shipping as shown in the following table.:[20]

American Shipping that arrived in Calcutta

Year	*No. of Vessels*	*Total Tonnage*
1857	167	127,382
1863	106	91,344
1866	45	41,316
1867	36	35,424
1868	58	55,458
1869	41	41,751
1870	40	43,954
1871	31	34,017
1872	53	61,310
1873	39	41,532
1874	28	28,997
1875	34	40,049
1876	30	33,151
1877	42	50,898
1878	25	31,019
1879	18	23,481
1880	23	28,816

19. Commercial Relations of the United States, 1879, p. 728.
20. Calcutta Consular Despatches, February 6, 1882.

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On the other hand, during the last two decades, the shipping of other countries at the port of Calcutta was steadily increasing as is shown below.[21]

	1859-60		1880-81	
	No.	Tons	No.	Tons
Britain	2,585	1,158,790	3,629	2,826,908
Germany	68	36,544	61	56,788
Italy	9	3,732	62	65,267
Norwegian	2	748	27	23,706

Summarising, therefore, trade with British India between 1860 and 1880, the Secretary of State observed:

> While the exports from the United States to India during the fiscal year 1879 amounted to about the same as the export of the year 1860, the imports into the United States from India during 1879 amounted to $ 13,334,00 more than the imports therefrom in 1860. Thus it may be said that in volume our present trade with India is about equal to that of twenty years ago. But, outside of volume, this trade has undergone much change in those twenty years—all unfavourable to the United States.
>
> In 1860 our total export to India and almost our total imports therefrom were carried in American vessels. In 1879 only a little over one/half of our exports to India and one/third our imports therefrom were carried in American vessels. The great disadvantage under which our commerce labors, in this connection, is very forcibly shown by the following extract from Consul-General Litchfield's report.
>
> 'Present indications are that trade with the United States during this year will be larger than ever before. During the month of October (1879) freights to New York suddenly rose from $ 4·25 to $ 12·50 per ton, and, at one time, eighteen large iron ships, all British, were loading (at Calcutta) for that port, while there were but three American ships in port at the time —a sad comment on the present condition of our merchant marine.'[22]

21. *Ibid.*, 1880-81, p. 177.
22. *Ibid.*, 1879, p. 73.

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Economic Groups and the Caste System in Ancient India

BY

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The division of society into four classes is sound fundamentally and has been recognised to be quite natural.[1] The Hindu system divides society into four natural classes, each allotted a particular role. It reveals the Hindu genius for organisation. In place of a primitive order in which each man performs several functions the system envisages a fixed type of work for the section having a natural aptitude for it. Thus much of the waste of social energy resulting otherwise has been done away with. The Indian caste system contemplates a harmonious society with its different parts performing their prescribed duty and thus contributing their share in the attempt to achieve the highest social good. One of the basic facts which distinguishes the Indian division of society from similar divisions elsewhere is that the theory of caste emphasises not the rights and privileges of the four castes but their duties.

The division of labour in its widest implication is thus at the root of the caste system. But it would be wrong to characterise the four *varṇas* as economic classes.[2] Economic considerations are not the basis of this four-fold division. The classes have not been framed for economically productive work alone. Not all the classes are devoted to economic pursuits. They are, really speaking, functional classes devoted to the administrative, religious and economic functions of society. Of these only the third (the *vaiśyas*) and in later times a section of the fourth *varṇa* (the *śūdras*) were directly concerned with economic functions.

1. Cf. B. N. Datta, *Studies in Indian Social Polity*, pp. 33-89.
2. *Ibid.*, Preface, p. ii.

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The origin of the caste system has received exhaustive treatment at the hands of a number of competent scholars.[3] Of the gradual phases through which the system evolved we cannot possibly, and profitably too, deal here with the conditions in primitive times. It has, however, been generally accepted that in the early Vedic period the Aryan society consisted of three classes only viz., *brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas* and *vaiśyas*. But by the close of the Vedic period a number of vital changes had crept in. In the first instance, a fourth class named the *śūdras* had come into existence as a result of the attempt of the Aryans to assimilate in their social system the subjugated aborigines called *dasyus* or *dāsas* in the Vedic literature. Secondly, a theory of caste was being enunciated though only in an elementary form. The famous *Puruṣasūkta* of the *Ṛgveda*[4] contains an important representation of this theory.

It has been often remarked that the theory of castes containing allegories and metaphors[5] represents only an ideal to be achieved[6] and that it cannot be taken to have reflected the actual condition of any particular period. But, as has been suggested by Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane, though in later times the caste system grew to be complicated, in Vedic times the division of society into four *varṇas* was a real fact. Whereas in earlier Vedic times the theory and the facts were co-ordinate, in subsequent times the two revealed gradually increasing divergence. The theory of castes in *Smṛtis* reflects the attempt of the compilers to bring the actualities of society in conformity with the ideal which was undisputed, being propounded in the eternal and infallible *Vedas*.[7]

The references in the Vedic literature to a number of occupations and crafts that subsequently developed into castes or subcastes do not alter the picture. These were not rigid hereditary castes but merely occupations within the framework of the caste

3. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 247 ff; *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona*, II.34 ff; *Vedic Age*, p. 384 ff.
4. X. 90.
5. Cf. B. C. Law, *India as Described in Early Texts*, p. 143.
6. Cf. Majumdar, *Corporate Life*, p. 382. Also H. S. Maine, *Village Communities in the East and West*, p. 57.
7. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, pp. 47f, 42.

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theory. It has to be kept in mind that in the Vedic period the theory was elastic and the conditions were fluid. The four divisions were not closed classes because it was only slowly that birth and heredity came to be regarded as the basis of the division. Likewise, the numerous occupations had not become strictly hereditary and there was a great amount of freedom in that respect.

It is difficult to comprehend and explain how the original simple four-fold classification of society came to develop into innumerable castes and sub-castes of the modern times. The divisions within the four *varṇas* themselves must have resulted from the natural tendency for groups of people to form themselves into closer associations. Though we find sub-divisions and sub-castes in the ranks of *brāhmaṇas* and *kṣatriyas* as well, the process in these cases could not have occurred on a vary large scale. These two classes early acquired a somewhat compact nature. Moreover, as the classes of rulers and priests were essentially functional and not occupational, the growth of sub-divisions in their ranks could not have been along professional or economic lines. But the case was different with the other two classes, especially the *vaiśyas*. The *vaiśyas*, it is rightly recognised, never formed a close or harmonious class but embraced a number of divergent social elements that could not be accommodated in the first two groups. It was quite natural for these distinct groups to develop on their own lines. The *vaiśyas* having been an economic class could choose any profession from a list of many occupations. It was easy and natural for the *vaiśyas* devoted to several distinct occupations to form themselves into separate groups. Likewise with the *śūdras*. The *śūdras* too were a class composed of diverse elements.[8] As not all the *śūdras* could be absorbed in their original function of serving the higher *varṇas*, especially the *brāhmaṇas*, they were allowed to engage themselves in different crafts. These craftsmen following various occupations were also not slow to develop into distinct castes or sub-castes.

It is with the help of the concept of mixed castes that the authors of *Smṛtis* tried to effect a synthesis of the new factors,

8. Cf. Patañjali I.475 (on II.4.10) for five types of *Śūdras*: V. S. Agrawala. *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 78 f.

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that had emerged in actuality, with the theory of the eternal existence of the four *varṇas*, in which they believed.[9] The several groups, that fall out of the four-fold *varṇa* system, were absorbed into the Indian social system by being labelled as *saṅkīrṇas*. In the list of the *saṅkīrṇas* were included the different foreign elements that came to India from time to time as also groups which, though existing from earlier times, had not been given a place in the social system. Some of these, mostly warrior ethnic groups, were explained as *vrātyas* or members of the higher *varṇas* fallen in status through their neglecting their prescribed duties. But the theory generally relied upon to explain unaccounted for castes or sub-castes works out the possible combinations arising out of the inter-mixture of the original four *varṇas* and some important sub-castes. The theory finds its most systematic and coherent treatment in the *Manusmṛti*. Manu says that mixed castes have been formed by the inter-mixture of *varṇas*, by marriages with women who ought not to be married and by the renunciation of prescribed duties.[10] It has been a general fashion with the scholars to describe the theory of mixed castes as utterly impossible, absurd and artificial.[11] But it is at best only a half-truth.[12] The artificiality of the theory is restricted only to its attempt to trace caste or sub-caste to the union of a male of a particular caste or sub-caste with a female of another caste or sub-caste. The sub-castes themselves whose origin is thus accounted were real. Here was no artificial gradation of social groups. The sub-castes or the distinct classes were already there with an almost fixed position in the social hierarchy and the scheme of society. The *Smṛtis* have creditably solved a really difficult and complicated problem by fitting these classes, with their actual status in society, in their own original scheme of four varṇas. The *Smṛtis* do not create new castes; on the contrary, they were forced to accept what was really the *fait accompli*. The theory which had lagged behind social practice tried to recover the lost ground through the scheme of the mixed castes.

9. Cf. *Mbh.*, XIII. 48.3; XIII. 47.18; *Manu*, X. 4.
10. X. 24.
11. Majumdar, *Corporate Life*, p. 381, f.n. 3 and 4.
12. Cf. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, p. 50f.

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The mixed castes may be regarded as having largely been economic groups. The development of these classes into closed corporations was mostly due to their following the same trade or occupation. Manu also implies this occupational basis of the mixed castes. He says that he has described some among various mixed classes by their respective fathers and mothers, and, that whether concealed or open, they may be known by their occupations.[13] In the different groups of artisans, manufacturers or handicraftsmen the early appearance of a distinct and compact organisation is to be accounted for by the three factors of localisation, hereditary occupation and the institution of an alderman. Following the example of *brāhmaṇas* and *kṣatriyas* they created social barriers against other groups which occupied a still lower position in the society.

Another important element that was soon absorbed in the list of mixed castes was composed of classes following occupations such as those of weaver, basket-maker, flute maker and barber[14] —all originally manned by non-Aryan aborigines who could not be reduced to the rank of domestic servants.[15] There were, besides, professions which earned their living by entertaining people. Some of these were acrobats, rope-walkers, jugglers, snake-charmers, dancers, musicians, drummers, pipers, etc. The bond of unity in such groups was supplied by a common and hereditary profession[16] which, because of scant respectability in the society, often forced them to live in isolation.

However, it would not be correct to say that all the mixed castes were economic classes. Some of them, essentially ethnic or tribal groups,[17] were assimilated in the social system together with other occupational groups.[18] But we have to bear in mind that

13. X. 40; cf. *Mbh.* XIII. 48.29.
14. Cf. *hīnajacco* applied for barbers—*Jātakas,* II. 5; III.452.
15. Fick, *Social Organisation,* p. 324f.
16. *Jātakas,* I.283, 284; II.167, 249.
17. Niṣādas—*Manu,* X.8; Licchavis-*Manu,* X.22.
18. The terms *Brāhmaṇakṛtāḥ* and *kṣatriyakṛtāḥ* (*Pāṇini,* II.1.59) reveal a vigorous movement in Pāṇini's time to absorb non-Aryan elements into Aryan folds. The *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* (XXII.4.3-30) prescribes simple Vrātyastoma rituals by which four elements in Vrātya population were converted into Aryans—V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini,* p. 441 f. Those who could not be assimilated in the original four *varṇas* had obviously to be placed as mixed castes.

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even these ethnic or tribal groups often had a fixed set of hereditary occupations and thus gradually evolved into closed economic groups. Despised by the higher groups, their touch and sight also being regarded as contemptuous, they lived together beyond the pale of civilised people. They had their own individuality, their own dialect, their own peculiar dress and appearance. Some of these important ethnic groups were *caṇḍālas, pukkusas, niṣādas* and *sopākas*. Somewhat better placed than these were the fishermen, huntsmen, foresters and herdsmen.

Though the material at our disposal does not warrant a systematic study of the processes through which the mixed castes evolved and developed, we can gain some idea of their gradual evolution.

The Vedic literature reveals that even at that early period there were several groups of uncertain status. We find references to a number of groups, professions and crafts which later theory in the Smṛtis ranked as mixed castes, out-castes or sub-castes.[19]

It appears that in the age of the Buddha the gulf between theory and practice widened considerably. It was in view of the confused conditions that there arose a number of heterodox opinions. They are best represented in the Buddhist theory of caste which aimed at demolishing the concept of caste being based on birth.[20]

The orthodox attempt was to reconcile these rebellious facts by introducing the idea of *saṇkara*. Āpastamba[21] refers to only three mixed castes. Gautama[22] describes the theory of mixed castes but not with any elaboration. He also mentions a number of mixed castes. Baudhāyana[23] adds some more names to those given by Gautama.[24] The *Arthaśāstra*[25] implies several mixed

19. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, p. 49 f.
20. Cf. *Aggaññ Suttanta* (*Dīgha*, III, p. 80 ff); N. N. Dutt, *Early History of the spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist schools*, pp. 9-12.
21. II 1.2.6-9.
22. IV.16 ff.
23. I.16, 17.
24. Cf. V. M. Apte, *Social life in the Gṛhyasūtras*, p. 14f.
25. III.7.

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castes, though mentioning by name only sixteen of them. The Smṛtis later in date contain a larger number of mixed castes. But the innovation of the supreme significance was that whereas the *Dharmasūtras* mention the theory in bare outline and name a few mixed castes, the later works, as represented by the *Manusmṛti*,[26] *Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra*[27] and the *Mahābhārata*,[28] give an elaborate and exhaustive account, specifying the fixed occupations for the important mixed castes. *Uśanas*[29] has the most detailed account, with forty names, and with the peculiar avocation of each mixed caste noticed separately. The *Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra*[30] remarks that the mixed castes are numberless; probably the number of the mixed groups had already become unwieldy. Whereas in earlier works the theory seems to have been advanced to explain the cleavage between actual conditions and the original theory of the four *varṇas*, by the time of later works the theory appears to have assumed stability and to have become almost a part and parcel of the original theory of the four *varṇas*. Unlike the earlier treatment of the subject we now find definite and fixed professions and occupations noted for the different mixed castes, so that the theory of the mixed castes closely resembled the original caste theory which prescribed separate duties for the four *varṇas*.[31]

The formation of these closed corporate social bodies was mainly due to the existence of guilds in ancient India and the persistence of organisational features derived from old kinship groups. We know that the importance of corporate activity in the economic sphere was early appreciated. The beginning of corporate organisation in economic pursuits goes back to an early period.[32] A *sūtra* in Pāṇini[33] attests to the tendency of different

26. X.8 ff.
27. XVI.
28. XIII.48.
29. *Aṣṭādaśasmṛti*, pp. 21-23.
30. XVI.7; cf. also *Mbh.*, XIII 48.30.
31. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pp. 69-100 has a consolidated list of the sub-castes and mixed castes.
32. Cf. R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life*, pp. 15 f.
33. II.1.59-*śreṇyādayaḥ kṛtādibhiḥ-aśreṇyaḥ śreṇayaḥ kṛtāḥ śreṇīkṛtāḥ; pūgabhūtāḥ; ekabhūtāḥ.*

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social groups to form themselves into guilds or corporations. The guilds had their own corporate social life and their own rules and regulations to guide it. They had considerable executive and judicial powers over the individual members.[34] But the one important factor which turned these craft-guilds into sub-castes was supplied by the institution of hereditary occupations. This made the life of the guilds permanent and led to their becoming closed and fixed bodies with their own rules and occupations.

A tendency which helped the guilds to evolve as sub-castes was provided by the *Smṛti* rules placing caste rules and craft rules on the same footing. In almost all the authoritative *Smṛtis* we find the injunction that a king should prescribe his laws after having duly understood the rules and usages of castes, *jānapadas*, *śreṇīs* and families.[35] Thus the guilds were recognised to have laws similar in nature to those of the castes. It was, therefore, nothing strange that the different occupations or crafts grouped as guilds were later given the status of sub-castes.

Another factor encouraging the transformation of guilds into closed social bodies was the assimilation of some ethnic groups in the ranks of mixed castes. The lowly placed ethnic groups had their fixed and peculiar occupations. The social life of these groups obviously possessed a very corporate nature. It was hence quite easy for these groups to be transformed into sub-castes with their own fixed occupations. It is apparent that these groups could not have been without abiding influence over the corporate life of guilds composed of men following the same crafts or occupations. When once the hereditary character of the occupations of these classes and their isolated and closed life had created in them a sense of corporation they did not lag behind in assuming the character of castes. They had the example of *brāhmaṇas* and *kṣatriyas* before them and hence soon developed rules restricting marriage and dining with people other than those of their own class. The *Arthaśāstra* prescribes that these were to marry among them-

34. *Majjhimanikāya*, 41, 114; *Vinayapiṭaka*, IV.226; *Yāj.*, II.30; *Nārada*, Introduction 7; *Bṛhaspati*, I.28.

35. Cf. *Manu*, VIII.41.

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selves and were to follow the customs and avocations of their ancestors.[36]

This fact of the different industrial and craft guilds gradually evolving as sub-castes can be illustrated with the help of several pieces of evidence belonging to different periods of ancient Indian history. In the first instance, a passage in Gautama distinctly refers to the existence of separate associations of men, belonging to one and the same craft or economic occupation, and recognises their conventions and rules. The passage says that cultivators, traders, herdsmen, money-lenders and artisans have authority to represent their peculiar usages, which have the force of law.[37] The rules about sacraments, originally concerning only the four *varṇas,* had to take cognisance of some occupational groups also which, though outside the *varṇa* system, could hardly be ignored in view of their increased following. The *Baudhāyana Gṛhya-sūtra*[38] prescribes different seasons for the initiation of a *brāh-maṇa, kṣatriya,* a *vaiśya* and a *rathakāra,* thus virtually accepting the status of *rathakāra* as a separate caste. The absence in later *dharmaśāstra* works[39] of provisions concerning the mixed castes is to be connected with the gradual degradation of their social status. A passage in the *Vinayapiṭaka*[40] has been interpreted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar[41] to yield the information that, by that time, the ethnic groups like *niṣāda* and *pukkusa* and the industrial groups of *rathakāra* and *veṇa* had formed real caste groups (*jāti*), while groups of occupations, including leather-workers and potters, had not yet undergone the change; they appear as low professions (*hīnasippa*). Another phase in this evolution is revealed by the inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era. Here we find that instead of the *varṇas* of the donees the inscriptions mention their crafts or occupations. Some records specifically refer to the hereditary character of these occupations.[42] Some impor-

36. *Artha,* III.7—*Teṣām svayonau vivāhaḥ. Pūrvāparagāmitvaṁ vṛttānu-vṛttaṁ ca svadharmān sthāpayet.*
37. XI.21.
38. VI.5.8.9.
39. *Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra,* II.4.10.5.
40. IV.6 ff; *Suttavibhaṅga* (*Pācittiya,* II.2.1).
41. *Corporate Life,* pp. 378-380.
42. *A.S.W.I.,* IV, p. 83, No. 1, p. 86, No. 14.

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tant ones among these are: *arāmaka* (gardener), *odayaṁtrika* (maker of hydraulic engines), *kamāra* (blacksmith), *kāsākāra* (brazier), *kularika* (potter), *kolīka* (weaver), *gandhika* (perfumer), *govallava* (cowherd), *caṁmakāra* (leather-worker), *tilapiṣaka* (oilmiller), *daṁtakāra* (worker in ivory), *dāsaka* (fisherman), *dhaṁñika* (corn-dealer), *mālākāra* (gardener), *mīṭhika* (polisher), *rayaga* (dyer), *rupakāraka* (sculptor), *lupadakha* (copyist), *lekhaka* (clerk), *lohavāniya* (iron-monger), *lohikakāruka* (worker in metal), *vasakara* (bamboo-worker), *vaḍhaki* (carpenter), *vaidya* (physician), *selavaḍhakin* (stone-mason), *sailālaka* (actor), *suvaṇakāra* (goldsmith), *sotika* (weaver), *sovaṇika* (goldsmith) and *hālakiya* (ploughman).[43] It is quite possible that these occupations, which are known to have developed later into distinct sub-castes, had come to assume even in that early period a closed and corporate status like that of a caste. The conditions, however, seem to have been still fluid. There was not much of a restriction as regards marriage. We actually find an instance of matrimonial relations between a smith and a jeweller.[44]

It appears that the full evolution of the castes and sub-castes into something resembling their nature in modern times was a feature of the early medieval times when also the caste system began to assume its rigidity known to us. The guilds by this period appear to have become mostly fossilised into occupational sub-castes[45] which no doubt retained some form of corporate life with some social control over the members. This transformation is clearly recognised by some of the works of the period which frankly explain *śreṇīs* in terms of the caste. The *Mitākṣarā*[46] still clinging to the occupational origin of *śreṇī* explains it as a group of people of different castes, who subsist by the occupation of one caste like the *heḍābukas* (horse-dealers), *tāmbūlikas* (betel-sellers), *kuvindas* (weavers) and *carmakāras* (shoe-makers). The

43. Lüder's list of Inscriptions—*E.I.X.*, Index.
44. *E.I.*, I.43 (No. 4), p. 383.
45. This serves as corroboration for the view that the sub-castes really evolved out of the craft-guilds. See A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, p. 217.
46. On *Yāj.*, II.30.

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Smṛticandrikā[47] and the *Vīramitrodaya*[48] clearly admit the change and explain *śreṇī* as meaning the eighteen low castes such as the *rajaka* (washerman).[49] The transformation of guilds into sub-castes would appear to have gone much ahead even by the time of Bhaṭṭotpala who, ignoring the professional basis of the guilds, explains them simply as the corporation of many people belonging to the same caste. The *Vaijayantī*[50] also takes *śreṇī* as the term for a body of people belonging to the same caste and profession. In the *Kānhaḍadeprabandha*[51] we have a reference to eighteen *varṇas*, besides the four high castes, which establishes clearly the transformation of guilds into sub-castes.

47. III (*Vyavahārakāṇḍa*), part 1, p. 40.
48. *Vyavahāra*, p. 12.
49. On *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, XXXIV. 19—*Bahūnāṃ samānajātīyānāṃ saṅghaḥ śreṇī*.
50. P. 237, l. 179—*Sajāti-śilpa-saṃhatyām-aṣaṇḍaḥ śreṇī*.
51. I. 238 q. by D. Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 252.

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The Matrix of South Indian Architecture

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Textual sources:

Architectural details of *Vāstu Śāstra* are discussed by different kinds of texts from early times. The earliest notable sources, however, are the *Sūtra* literature, both of the *Gṛhya* and the *Sulba* class. Later the *Purānas* like *Matsya, Skanda, Agni* and *Garuḍa* deal with *Prāsāda lakshana* etc. and of these, *Vishnudharmottara* forming the appendix to *Vishnu Purāna* deals with *Vastu Vidya* in all its aspects, namely, architecture, sculpture and painting, and details about a hundred types of temples. *Agamas* followed, particularly in Southern India, and contributed specifically to *Śilpa Śāstra* to a considerable degree. They have the same position in devotional and architectural traditions of the south, as *Purānas* have in the north, although the *Agama* exposition of the architectural and allied matters is much more technical and systematised than those of the *Purānas*. *Kāmikāgama* has more than three fourths of its bulk devoted to *Silpa* and *Stapatya* arts. *Kāranāgama, Suprabheda* and *Vaikhānasa* are some of the most important *Agamas*. *Tantra* literature is equally rich in *silpa* lore, as in the case of *Hayaśirsha Pāncharātra* which is indeed considerably akin to *Agni Purāna* version in *Vāstu* matters. Similarly, *samhitās* like *Brihat Samhitā* of the late Gupta period are methodical and highly revealing texts for architecture of the formative periods particularly of the pre-*Agama* age. In a like manner *Pratisṭhā* manuals like *Iśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* for the South and Hemadri's *Chaturvagachintāmani* have their own significant and valuable contributions to architecture and iconography. Besides these, which only incidentally dealt with Vāstu, there are regular *Śilpa* texts which are broadly divisible into northern and southern texts as inspired by the authorship of *Viśvakarma* and *Maya* respectively. Of these the more important among the northern ones are *Viśvakarma Prakāśa, Aparājitaprichchā, Rūpa Maṇḍana,* and

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Samarāṅganasūtradhāra, while of the southern, *Mayamata, Mānasāra, Kaśyapaśilpa, Prayogamanjari, Śilparatna, Tantrasamuchchaya,* and *Agastyasakalādhikāra* are the more outstanding.

We must realise that these texts, as also other texts of *Agamas, Purānas, Samhitās,* etc., dealing with architecture, pertain to different periods and thus have inherent variations of treatment of the same theme, although a broad commonness over many elements is implicit in their approach. Further, in so far as Nagara and Dravida types are concerned, we should also note that both the northern and southern texts deal with either of these types. Further both groups of texts deal with five original basic shapes, ramifying later into twenty types of Nagara temples, which further develop into forty-five in *Agnipurāna* and sixty-four in *Samarāṅganasūtradhāra.* It is further interesting to see that what in some texts were considered as the three main styles, namely, Dravida, Nagara and Vesara, were only of two important styles, namely, the first two, while in some others of a slightly evolved period as for instance of the time of *Samarānganasūtradhāra* of Bhoja (1st half of 11th century A.D.), these were divided into five classes, *Nāgara, Lāṭa, Bhūmija, Vārāṭa* (*Vairāṭa*) and *Drāviḍa.* Of these *Lāṭa* deals with those temples found in Gujarat where a local sub-style could be well worked out, and *Bhūmija* (meaning local) apparently refers to a well-identifiable sub-style that the Paramāras of Malwa (of whom Bhoja, the royal author of *Samarāngana,* is one) initiated. The basic main styles still, therefore, continue to be *Nāgara* and *Drāviḍa,* besides which is the *Vesara* which is sometimes taken as *Vārāṭa.* What is this *Vesara*? Even *Śilpa* texts which give information about the elements of *Vesara* style are so vague and meagre on its character that there has been an unsettled view yet among scholars about the exact connotation, geographical, architectural or etymological, of this term.

We may begin by stating that by the time of *Samarāngana Sutradhāra, Vesara* style must have lost its ground, as it has been ignored by Bhojadeva. Aparājitaprichchā, however, though later than *Samarāngana* by over a century, continues to employ it and the implication of its treatment is that *Vesara* as a style was mostly in vogue between the 8th and the 11th centuries A.D. and went out of vogue later. Among the other texts which mention *Vesara* is *Mānasāra,* datable perhaps to the 10th-11th

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century A.D. Under the section *Vimāna-vidhāna,* it deals with the three styles of Architecture, in which *Vesara* is included. But it does not use the word *Prāsāda* (as taken to signify northern temples) but only deals with *vimāna* which is a term used earliest for a temple model in the south. *Mayamata,* also a southern text, however, uses the word '*Prāsāda*' not in the sense of *vimāna* or main shrine, but while dealing with *Prāsāda* types like *Sabha, Śālā, Prapā, Rangamandapa* and *Mandira,* thus extending the scope of the word '*prāsāda*' to cover *mandapas* and auxiliary structures also. It is particularly significant also that *Mayamata* actually describes only upto four *talas* of *vimānas* in detail and above these upto twelve *talas,* they are only briefly stated. It is perhaps an indication of its relatively earlier age when *vimānas* of more than four *talas* were less common. It will be seen that, on the one hand, earliest texts like *Brihat Samhitā, Vishnudharmottara, Agnipurana* etc. do not mention the classification of *Nāgara, Drāviḍa,* and *Vesārā,* at all. The *Agama* texts—*Suprabheda, Kāmika, Mayamata,* besides *Kaśyapaśilpa, Iśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, Mānasāra, Śilparatna* and *Tantrasamuchchaya,* on the other, mention the ternary classification and make out the difference in styles on the basis of the shape of the *śikhara.*[1] Of these, we may not take into account *Kasyapasilpa, Silparatna,* and *Tantrasamuchchaya,* as these are late and merely recapitulate the earlier division from other texts, although *Kaśyapaśilpa* is the earliest of this lot, whereas the earlier texts are actually committed to the nomenclatural division of styles by their *near contemporary* participation in the context of such a development.

Ternary classification:

The tabulation given by Mallayya regarding the shapes enumerated under different styles of architecture by different texts, particularly *Suprabheda, Kāmika, Mayamata, Gurudevapaddhati* and *Mānasāra* would show (1) that a pure *Drāviḍa* style should be either a hexagon or an octagon or the elongated forms of either,

1. This again may show that the ternary classification was essentially created in the South and indeed the context for the same also obtained in the south only, thus making *Nāgara* also nomenclaturally as much southern, as it is etymologically held northern.

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and (2) in a composite *Drāviḍa* style the shapes would be invariably square for the body of the *vimāna,* while the *śikhara* would be either a hexagon or an octagon. We may state that two corollaries emerge from these. In the first instance, there is a pure as well as a composite concept of *Drāviḍa;* a similar concept (but of different norms) is also tabulated for *Nagara* and *Vesara.* Secondly, only the plinth and *śikhara* have been taken into consideration, but not the larger part of the body elevation and superstructural details which may involve replicas of other kinds. It is interesting here to note that in the case of *Nāgara,* it is clearly seen that the shape is almost always square, both in body and *śikhara,* and rarely rectangular also. In the *Drāviḍa,* we have from extant examples of considerable range, practically no temple which has a hexagonal or elongated hexagonal or octagonal body, unless *asra* is to be taken not merely in the sense of a side, but in the sense of a projecting face, as elsewhere suggested by Kramrisch. The unique hexagonal instance, as in the Subrahmanya temple in the north-west corner of the outer open court of the Great Temple at Tanjore, and datable to the Vijayanagar times, was perhaps chosen so primarily because this was a true Dravida shape and additionally because the temple was for Shanmukha and is thus appropriately six-sided in its *sikhara.* Even the miniature *hara* units in this temple show the hexagonal form alternating with *Śāla* and *pañjara.* If rectangular *sikharas* are *Nāgara* then *Śālā śikhara* temples will be *Nāgara* temples. If *kūṭa* and *sālā śikhara* temples are *Nāgara,* and if circular sectioned *śikhara* temples are *vesara,* we are left only with a few early octagonal (very rarely hexagonal, like the relief on Sahadeva-ratha end face of the roof at Mahabalipuram) *śikhara* temples of the period, between the 7th and the 11th centuries A.D., which could be called truly *Drāviḍa* temples. These would summarily ignore not only the typical storeyed construction of the southern superstructure which is more truly *Drāviḍa,* if any, and would also deny to the hundreds of temples built in the more southern part of the peninsula a claim to belong to *Drāviḍa* style which they indeed reflect. It cannot be said that *Silpa* texts had no concern with the *pāda, prastara,* and *kshudra śikharas* of *alpa* class and the *rhythm* of the *talas,* but only with ground plan and *śikhara.* The matter inevitably calls for an elucidation of the corresponding words

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Nāgara and *Vesara*. *Nāgara* when considered in the context of the earliest *vimāna* concepts having been adumbrated in the south, is different from the *prāsādas* of the northern terminology, as mentioned in *Samarānganasutradhāra*, and would show that the concept of *Nāgara*, *Drāviḍa* and *Vesara* had all been prevalent in South India, and a classification was called for in order to separate them into categories, and thus it was a thing distinguishable from the *Nāgara rekhā śikhara* of Northern India, where the very definitional and formal concept of the word *śikhara* has a different connotation, namely, the whole superstructure of the temple, *as one unit*. In as much as dissimilar and disparate groups cannot be compared with one another, *śikhara* of the northern *prāsāda* and *śikhara* of the southern *vimāna* cannot be compared, while evolving the three styles of architecture. The *śikhara* of the *Nāgara prāsāda* is actually a *rekhā* or curvilinear type which is basically distinguished from the typical *talacchanda* of the *Drāviḍa* style. Thus, clearly, *śikhara* of *Drāviḍa* parlance would not be the exclusive all-India criterion whether a temple is of *Nāgara*, *Drāviḍa* or *Vesara* style, although *śikhara, which should always have a curvature,* is the top member in *Drāviḍa* type, but is the whole *Aṇḍa* in the *Nāgara* type. The fact that we do not have any *Drāviḍa śikhara* or *vesara śikhara* in *Aryavarta* should, by the process of elimination, make the term *Nāgara* alone applicable to it, and this is indeed how it appears to have stuck to the northern style, thereby not excluding the feasibility of deliberate erection of square body and *sikhara* for a temple in the Deccan and the south. Thus the reference to *Nāgara* in the early southern texts, read with the silence on such terms in the earliest northern sources of the formative period, would emphasize the codification of the canons of temple architecture on a purely regional basis in the early period in the south. A similar process had happened for the Kalinga also where the classification is typically its own. While the *sikharas* of a *Drāviḍa vimāna* could be square, circular, octagonal or rectangular or elliptical (the five basic concepts), the *śikhara* of a *Nāgara prāsāda* will always be square. Thus, in order to understand the implications of the words *Drāviḍa* and *Nāgara śikhara*, it is absolutely a prerequisite that we grasp fully the fundamental difference that actually existed between the words *prāsāda* and *vimāna* pertaining to the northern and southern nomenclature respectively.

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Then why do *Iśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, Mayamata* and even *Mānasāra* state that *prāsāda, sadana, saudha, sadma, vimāna,* etc., are all *paryāya-padas?* The answer is, perhaps paradoxically enough, provided in a northern text like *Samarānganasūtradhāra,* where we do *not* have the word *vimāna,* but only the *prāsāda.* The fact of the matter would seem to be that irrespective of the southern texts which considered *prāsāda* and *vimāna* as one and the same, the northern practice and the origins of the northern religious edifices would all tend to confirm that *prāsāda* which was from very early times taken in northern texts to signify a *secular* residence was undifferentiatedly pressed into religious service as a house of God also while *vimāna* being an original southern concept continued to have its own specific ritual significance for south. The same has been the case with the words *ayatanam, sadanam, saudham, sadman,* used in the northern and southern Sanskrit inscriptions for the temple, the earliest usage going back to the 6th-7th centuries A.D.[2] They were used for secular as well as religious edifices simultaneously, and the preferred use of *prasāda* as the temple exclusively in northern text is of the pre-mediaeval times. Even in the southern texts, we see that *Kāmikāgama, Vaikhānasāgama, Manasara* and *Mayamata* have a rather diffuse classification, the differentiation between temples and residential buildings not being firm.

In order to comprehend the whole devolution better, we should now take up the implication of the word *Vesara.* Many meanings, both primary and secondary, have been furnished for the same. The sense of a mule or a hybrid has been suggested by many. The use of circular concept like a *Besari*—the nose ornament—is even ventured by some, although how *besari* which is a nose-screw, could be circular is not understood. A nose *nath* has a circular golden loop holding the pearls, but *Besari* is different from a *nath.* Be this as it may, the sense of a hybrid like a mule and therefore the sense of a circle which is taken as a hybrid out of a square and an octagon is too obscure to be readily accepted. Considering the geographical zone which has been designated as the *Vesara* country, namely, the tract between Vindhyas and river Krishna-

2. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXXVI, Pt. II, April 1965—No. 7.

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veni, it would not be too inapt to observe the great mixture of styles, extant in this area, which perhaps immediately cried for a nomenclatural fixation in ancient parlance. But the direct import, as in the words *Nāgara* and *Drāviḍa*, is lost in the word *Vesara*, if we are to take it merely as a hybrid or circular sectioned. It would seem that the term could have signified the sense of two-faced (*dvyasra* → *Vesara*) by which the effect of being apsidal would be derivable. If this be so—as is proposed by some texts and as seems reasonable from the point of view of the physical examples known of this form, their chronological context, and the meaning of the word *asra*—we seem to be clearing the deck for a better perception of the threefold classification into *Nāgara, Drāviḍa* and *Vesara*. We then not only realise why the northern texts do not have any use for it, and why to the South Indian architect alone the need for the classification arose out of a sheer proximity of such structural enterprises at certain periods, say, between 3rd century and 11th century A.D. Therefore, these signified, not divergent styles based on geographical division or the *guṇatraya vibhāga* as proclaimed in some texts, but the variation in structural form, namely, the square, the octagon and the apse. By this explanation, it would seem that a circular-sectioned temple *śikhara* need not make it a *Vesara* temple, although the southern textual definition of a *vesara śikhara* countenances only a circular cross section. On the other hand, a rectangular sectioned temple in the north with a *śālā śikhara* like Teli ka mandir, Gwalior, or Vaital Deul of Bhubaneswar is really *Nāgara* in its strictest sense. We thus have to consider *Vesara* as standing almost entirely for the apsidal group of temples which at least from the time of inception of structural architecture on less easily perishable materials like stone (rather than brick) had incidence at a number of places in the whole of South India, and had recrudescence at successive stages owing to a preferred usage of this variety by some patrons, out of the traditional familiarity with such constructions. Thus we have the early Pallava and allied apsidal form as at Mamallapuram, Kuram, Chejerla, Aiholi and Satvel, the traditional or early Chola or later Chalukyan or Haihaya (Kalachuri) forms respectively of the same, as at Magaral (near Uttiramerur, Chingleput District), Oragadam, Tirukkalukkunram, Tirusulam, Kanchipuram, (Jvaraharesvara) all in Chingleput Dis-

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trict, Narttamalai (Tiruchirapalli District), Papanasam (Alampur, Mahboobnagar District, Andhra Pradesh) and Candrehe in Rewa District of Central India, although, strictly speaking, the last mentioned has sixteen *bhadras* or facets in its ground plan together making a broadly circular outline. It is just feasible that what applied to an apse-ended structure was also attributed to a circular structure, since an apsidal temple will always have a circular *śikhara* apart from gaja-pṛṣṭa *śikhara* and would still be termed *Vesara;* and in this extended sense a circular temple could itself be a *Vesara* temple, as for instance Chaunsath-yogini temple at Beraghat and Maniyar Math at Nalanda.

A circular *śikhara* alone should not perhaps exclusively fix a temple as *Vesara,* but the converse that a *Vesara* temple would almost always have apsidal or circular body and/or *śikhara* is probably true.

Under the *Vesara* classification of the southern texts and under pure *Vesara* style, both *Mayamata* and *Gurudeva* classify apsidal forms—apart from circular and elliptical, which are only hypothetical from the point of view of early structural architecture. Neither *Suprabheda* nor *Kaśyapaśilpa* nor *Mānasāra* nor *Tantrasamuchchaya* has any pure *vesara* forms where body and *Śikhara* are together to be circular or elliptical or apsidal. This would show the empirical paucity of such shapes except those of the apsidal types in the early context under pure forms, and signify the comparatively later reincidence of circular and elliptical temple shapes. There are, however, three instances of elliptical forms of temples in very early contexts around *c.* 150 B.C. in the north, as in (1) the rock-cut caves of the Barabar group; (2) at Bhilsa, opposite to the Heliodorus pillar and indeed oriented to it, this temple was apparently in wood and except for outline grooves has perished completely; (3) at Nagari, near Chitorgarh, within the Hathi Bada enclosure and excavated once by Bhandarkar. Under composite *Vesara* forms, however, it is seen that the body was required to be invariably square in almost all the texts, while the *śikhara* could be mostly circular, though elliptical and apsidal *śikharas* are not ruled out. We have, however, instances of elliptical *śikharas* over square body, as in the cases of Tirukkoilur temple (South Arcot District), Tiruvellarai temple, Srirangam temple, etc. (in Tiru-

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chirapalli District) datable mostly around the period from the 7th to the 10th century A.D.[3]

Five basic Vimana forms:

It is to the five basic original shapes[4] of vimānas, called as *Vairāja* (square), *Kailāsa* (circular), *Puṣpaka* (rectangular), *Manika* (oval) and *Triviṣṭapa* (octagonal) that the majority of the early *Śilpa* texts refer deriving the 20 *Nagara* types from them, and it is these that are predicated as southern by *Samarāṅganasūtradhāra*. Thus it is obvious from the literary references as well as the incidence of architectural examples of *all* these types, that such specimens originated under the aegis of the progenitors of Stapatya arts of the south. The fact that sub-regional

3. Apsidal *śikharas* over square bodies are less known and are of two classes, the first, as at Virattanesvara at Tiruttani of the time of Aparajita, having an apsidal gajaprishtha over a square body, and the second having the circular of apsidal part occurring only higher up on the superstructure, as at Munkudumisvara temple at Kalattur near Chingleput. It is to be noted that practically all apsidal forms occur only in Tondaimandalam and rarely south of it.

4. It is also significant to observe here that these five names have hieratic or *pauranic* affiliations with Visnu, Siva, Kubera, Varuna and Indra respectively—*Vairāja*, belonging to *Virāt* or *Mula Purusha* or *Vishnu*, *Kailāsa* to Siva, *Pushpaka* having belonged to *Vaisravana*, *Manika*—being a water jar or *naga* to Varuna, and *Triviṣṭapa* to the Indra. They also indirectly represent the *pātāla* or nether water land, *antariksha*, *akāśa* and heaven by a similar association. It may be particularly noted that conceptually these five terms convey the shape they are meant to represent. Thus *Vairaja* derived from *Virāt* should stand for the four cardinal directions in which Virat diffused, and thus should stand for a square; *Kailāsa* by the smooth circular snow-clad peaks of its own, should necessarily stand for circular plan; *Pushpaka* by the description we have of Ravana's *Pushpaka vimāna* (which was snatched by him from Kubera by valour) should clearly show a rectangular structure with an inner and frontal unit; *Manika* with the nature of the shape of a gem or of a water pitcher should be oval; and *Triviṣṭapa* which is Indra's heaven, by the *ashta mangalas* which decorate the celestial abode should stand for an octagon. In reducing these five basic figures to three, the literal or direct import of the terms was also kept undamaged, and thus square, circle, and octagon perhaps became the chief figures of the ternary classification. Since they were, from the point of view of shapes, based upon actual extant structural forms, they ceased to have direct import subsequently, of Virat (or Visnu), Siva and Indra. Symbolism indeed became defunct when five shapes were reduced to three, and structural objectivity took its place.

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styles like either *Vairāja* (or *Vairāṭa* perhaps pertaining to *Vidarbha*) or *Bhūmija* (initiated in Malwa in the time of Paramara Bhoja) or Lāṭa (which developed in Gujarat), which are supposed to have the characteristics of both the *Nāgara* and *Drāviḍa* styles (according to *Samarānganasūtradhāra* and *Aparājitaprichchā*) have not been called *Vesara* in these texts shows that *Vesara* was not merely a hybrid but something more specific, and further pertained more to the south than to the north. The conclusion is thus inescapable that *Vesara* stands essentially for a type of structure which is apsidal or circular, and whichever area had the largest incidence of such forms at the time of the codification of the earliest southern texts referring to them should be taken as the zone within the knowledge of the textual composers. More will be said of this further down.

The earliest usage of the word *vimāna* in the late Vedic and the Epic periods is only in the sense of a thing which stretches out, of a car or chariot, often of an aerial nature. In the Epics it is used also in the sense of a car (Puṣpaka of Ravana) as also of the superstructure of a large *prāsāda*, which latter is taken to mean both a palace and a large hall (*Chaitya prāsāda, stambhas* of a *prāsāda*, etc.). Although the *śilpa* texts like *Iśānaśivagurupaddhati* make it clear that *vimāna* has by that time (9th-10th century A.D.) taken the meaning of a temple structure which is amenable to many proportionate or relative measurements of its parts, even these very texts indicate by some usages of the word in their chapters that *vimāna* meant sometimes also the superstructure, i.e., from *prastara* to the *śikhara* by such usages in the '*Samprokshana*' section, as *Vimānādavaruhya*, '*Vimānamāruhya*'. It is interesting that even in Ramayana itself, it is used in this sense in Sundara Kanda (*Vimānamadhiruhya*, etc.). It implies that at that stage, there was no separate term for the superstructure but *vimāna* meant any and all parts of the main temple. But in using it as above, the sense is no doubt conveyed that *vimāna* was the elevated part of the temple. Later usage also has largely sanctified this aspect, as we know that *vimāna darśana, Ranga vimāna, Vimāna devatas*, etc. in temples connote only the superstructure above *garbhagraha*. Between North India and the South, there is a variation in the usage of the word *śikhara*. Whereas in the South, it is clearly standing only for the part of the temple which is

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between the *grīva* and the *stūpi*, and forms the main diagnostic trait for the terminology in the *Vāstu* texts of the South, in the *rekhā* temples of the north, *śikhara* stands for the same sense as is popularly connoted by the word *vimāna* in the south and is the tower above the *garbhagriha*. This is apparently due to the fact that the etymological *śikhara* between *grīva* and *stūpi* in the north is mainly the flat *amalasāra*, and this does not have any variations in shape but is almost a constant factor *in type*. This is fundamental to the delineation of the superstructure above the cella since, in the south, above the *prastara*—which rises only upto the *alingapaṭṭi* or *vyala-vari* above the *kapota*—we have the *pindi* and the *grīva* in an *ekatala* structure, and in *dvi-*, *tri-talas* and further, we have mainly the *hāra courses*[5] in the *talas*. But in the *rekhā* tower, we have a single unit or *aṇḍa* forming the superstructure and itself comprises different nodes, or *aṅgas* defined by *karnāmalakas*, all pressed together in such a way that they do not show any clear-cut storeyed division. Indeed while the early southern temples have *talas*, the northern ones merely had schematic and undifferentiated *bhūmis*. An intermediate or cross-fertilised mode is that seen in the Kadamba and Karnataka country,[6] in the early times, where the *karnāmalakas* are there, and between each of the two *bhūmis* we have a simplified, recessed-and-pilastered wall comprising a *bhūmi*, and which divides the entire pyramidal tower into such visible strata which are entirely square-sectioned. The top is of course finished with a *grīva*, *amalaka-śilā* and *stūpi*.

Another word used as a synonym to *vimāna*, *sadana*, *harmya*, etc., connoting the whole temple, is the term '*saudha*'. This word at least upto the time of Kalidasa (c. 5th century A.D.) has definitely signified mainly the meaning of storey, upper floor or terrace. ('*Tatra saudha gatah pasyan yamunām chakravākinīm* or

5. It is stipulated that *mukhya vimānas* should have on their parapets of each of the *talas*, *hāras* of *kshudra alpa vimānas*.

6. These are to become the formulae for the earlier Hoysala architecture, even notwithstanding the *kshudra alpa vimāna*, and *hāras*, in however ornate and florid manner they were rendered on their *talas*, which emphasise a mere narrowing horizontal strata of carvings, not unlike that of a *Nāgara aṇḍa*. The *Doddabasavappa* temple at Dambal brings this out in the most effective manner.

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'*Plakshapraroha iva saudha-talam bibheda*' (*Raghuvamsa*) or *sau-dhotsanga pranaya vimukhō māsma bhūrujjayinyāh* (*Megha-data*). However, in the inscriptions of the 7th century A.D., the word is freely used as a temple also, along with *sadma, dhāma* etc. side by side with their secular usage and thus it regained its actual true import of being the whole temple unit enshrining the *garbhagraha* from its plinth to *stūpi*. By the period of the earliest *Vāstu* texts like *Vaikhānasāgama, Mayamata,* and *Iśānaśivaguru-devapaddhati,* it obtained the meaning of the entire structure and that too of a temple, and the only legitimate inference from this could be that in this formative period of prolific temple building and religious fervour, the civilian structures, except perhaps of the residences of kings, did not rise beyond a single floor and hence by applied secondary usage the word came to be holding good only for the temple or the house of God. It is interesting here to note that the Tamil word for temple is *Koil* which is to be split up into the two words *ko + il,* meaning the residence of the Supreme Chief (be he the temporal lord or the universal spiritual lord). This has the same meaning as the *Prāsāda, Harmya* and *Saudha* which actually denoted in the earlier periods palaces of kings and came to be utilised for the residence of God, as a mark of the highest respect and adoration. Thus, it is no wonder that in actual usage the earlier meaning overlaps with the one later acquired.

Diagnostic element:

It is interesting to note that although the *Śilpa* texts speak of the *Nāgara* and *Drāviḍa* and in some cases the *Vesara* as well, and give details of what constitutes these categorisations, in actual practice in the extant temples of the north and south, we find a difference in the norms of classification. For instance, we have many instances in the Tamil country of temples which are from base to *śikhara* of square plan, in which case nomenclaturally they should strictly be called *Nagara* temples. The fallacy of calling so would however be readily apparent when we observe that these temples have also a storeyed division of the superstructure, characterised by the abbreviated *hāha* of *kūṭas, śālās* or *koshthas,* etc. each having its own plinth, wall and cornice. These *kūṭa, śāla* and *panjara* types represent, each an *alpa-vimāna* type, and form in the aggregate a *jāti vimāna,* with the ground-plan providing only for the recessions within the *vinyāsasutra* line for the *salilāra*

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tara insets, the entire lay-out being otherwise, almost oblong invariably.[7] The elevational face of the *vimāna* is stereotyped in its vertical divisions into the *hāra, alinda* and *gṛhapindi* and *bhadraśāla,* respectively standing for outer wall thickness, the width of the inner circuit, the thickness of the inner sanctum wall, and the width of the sanctum itself. All these are typical of the temples of the south and are not to be found in the temples of north India, the venue of exclusive *nāgara* types. Thus, we have to call these temples *Drāviḍa,* notwithstanding the *chaturasra* lay-out and *śikhara* it has. It would indeed be anomalous to call these types *nāgara* on the basis of the square *śikhara* alone. At the same time the *śikharas* of the southern temples, particularly in the premediaeval stages, have a considerable variation of cross-section ranging from circular, through octagonal, to the square. There was, thus a plausibility and indeed warrant in attempting a working classification purely on an empirical basis of their *śikhara* types with a view mainly to distinguish the types, without describing them fully. This is exactly what the *śilpa* texts had sought to do. The considerable identity in the approach to the temple form, particularly of Southern India, found in the texts would show that whatever their minor variations, the texts are speaking not about how a temple of the *Drāviḍa* type is *to be* constructed, but largely how such a temple *was* constructed. They are thus essentially codifying the various styles prevalent all over the country—particularly South in so far as we are concerned in this discussion—and have brought out the *rationale* of these existing types, dimensionally as also nomenclaturally or formally. Undoubtedly they have tried to evolve a general rule for further developments, in the slightly later texts, reviewing actually the further grounds covered by the architects following the norms established by earlier texts. We have also to consider cases of later texts merely compiling earlier forms, integrating them with such aspects of the later developments as they could conveniently consolidate in a given region. They have not given any evidence of their age and have indeed utilised the same conventional language often to have the effect of being treated ancient. There are, however, in some cases direct evidences to arrive at the date of the author, as in

7. After the 8th century A.D. the *mahāmandapa* becomes a separate unit and has a constriction on plan dividing it from the main *vimāna* proper.

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the case of *Śilparatna*. There is thus a conventionalisation of all the attendant aspects of the erection of a temple, which together with the ritual slant that is inevitably bestowed upon it, on account of its primarily religious requirements, would help us in visualising the stage reached by the concerned texts in the standardisations of the conventions referred to in their chapters.

Apart from the structural erection of the temple in different parts or *anukāyas* of the main shrine chamber, which are duly named, there were clearly the auxiliary, but by no means secondary, entities like the divinities that are to be consecrated on the different parts of the temple wall and superstructure upto the *grīva*. These are indeed valuable indices of the organic evolution of the ritual elements of worship and a stratification of their first occurrence and their general provenance should give us an insight into the orientation of the particular *Śilpa* texts.[8] The subsidiary structures and enclosure walls and entrance towers also likewise carry significance in the enlargement of the main fabric of the temple premises.

Viewed in this context, we may easily perceive that in the early formative stages of temple growth, there is not only a likelihood of unconventional arrangements *per se* among the various members of the edifice but also a more widespread and blind reproduction of the members over a longer period of time and space and a display of formal evolution only in certain secondary characteristics apart from the main stature of the temple with its rising and expanding tower frame. Only when we reach the 10th century A.D. we find a deliberate attunement of architectural growth and textual injunction—a clear indication of the contemporaneity of their respective creations.

8. For instance, in Tamilnad, the first occurrence of the bulls, lions or *Garuḍa* on the corners of the *pindi* terrace below the *grīva* comes up during the time of Rajasimha (Narasimhavarman II); similar is the case with the introduction of *Lingodbhava* though not on the west wall. These usages are mentioned in *Vaikhānasagama* and *Mayamata* and thus we know that these texts should be definitely subsequent to Rajasimha's time. Indeed where *Lingodbhava* occurs in rock-cut caves, as at the Tirumeyyam Siva cave, duly facing west, we should be inclined to take it as having a bearing on the age of that cave temple itself, making it definitely later to the 1st quarter of the 8th century A.D.

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Śikhara and its special import:

It would be worthwhile to revert to the word *sikhara,* at this stage, to linger awhile on the special imports of this term. It may be repeated first that it is not in vogue in the north; '*śikhara*' here is the comprehensive superstructure above the cornice, upto the *grīva* and the *amalasāra,* with finial above. It is thus one of the most significant and major structural parts of the temple and its origins are noticeable from a simple intersecting *chaitya kūḍu,* as at Gop (Saurashtra) to a full-fledged unit with *angaśikharas, Urah-Śringas, mūlamanjari,* and *śukanāsa,* in its axial direction, which has fruitful evolutions in relation to the roof of the *mukhamandapa* or *sabhāmandapa.* The northern *sabhāmandapa* roof has usually a tiered superstructure, with a *samatala* or *kshipta* or *nābhicchanda* ceiling from within, and *samvarana* units on its coursed exterior, upto its own *padma,* followed by the *kalaśa.* '*Śikhara*' and '*vimāna*' are also sometimes in the northern texts utilised in an identical context, as in '*Aparājitaprichchā*'. Owing to the difference thus between the nomenclatures of *Śikhara* in the northern context and the southern, and the absence of any reference to *śikhara* of the later connotation but only in the sense of an upper room in the earliest texts like *Vishnudharmottara* (*Khanda* III, Chapter 86) we are led to presume that there was a gap of time between the concepts of *Prāsāda lakshana* of the earliest texts and the further evolved types of the subsequent periods.

Terms used in Visnudharmottara:

We note that *Vishnudharmottara* which should not perhaps be assigned to a period later than early 7th century A.D. at best gives only the following *angas* of the *prāsāda: Jagati, Bhūmika, Bhadrapīṭha, Kaṭi, Kūṭa, Sopāna, Amalasāra,* integrating these into 3 equal elevational parts of the temple profile, namely, *Jagati, Kaṭi* and *Manjari.* It talks also of *Mekhalā* or girdle in the *Śringavān* group. This term would seem to correspond to the *vedi* of the plinth, perhaps surrounding the main shrine. Of plans, it talks of *chaturasra, vistāra trigunāyāma,* and of the main types of *prāsādas,* of *Himavān, Mālyavan* and *Śringavan.* It also talks about *Dvāra* in the sense of the entrance doors and by a mention of '*dvāraischaturbhih*' it presumably connotes a *Sarvatobhadra* type of shrine open on the four cardinal directions, and calls it the

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'Himavān'. It mentions also a single door which is of dimensions according to one's liking (*yatheshṭha*) and talks of a shrine type *Viśāla*. It is interesting in this connection that *Mayamata* also speaks of a shrine type *Śri Viśāla*, which has projections on the *bhadras* on four sides.[9]

Epigraphical evidence:

A Nagarjunakonda inscription mentions that 'with the blessings of Karttikeya, one Eli Sri constructed a temple (Adhivasa) of Sri Visala type for Sarvadeva

> *"Eli Śri Śriviśālam subhamati*
> *rakarōt Sarvadevā dhivāsam"*

It would thus seem that some of these temple types had wide currency already in the 4th century A.D. At Nagarjunakonda itself there is another shrine-complex which has many shrines of the same size within its compound wall, and such a shrine with many '*garbhas*' is perhaps implied in *Vishnudharmottara* as *yathesṭha*. It is important also to find here that *Vishnudharmottara* states that *Viśāla* and *yatheshtha* could be a shrine of the *Saptamātris*, *Nārāyana*, or *Sūrya* or *Vasus* or *Rudra* or *Viśvedeva* or *Maruts* or *Bhrigu* or *Angiras* or *Aśvins* or *Dikpālas*. Actually the Nagarjunakonda specimen of *Śri Viśāla* was of *Rudra* as *Sarvadeva* and the other *yatheshṭha* type was having six shrines in a group and this could well have been for the *mātris* who were perhaps six rather than seven in the early period. Thus it would be one of the earliest applications of the shrine nomenclature and would incidentally show that the *Vishnudharmottara* text was compiling widely prevalent modes and not mere abstractions.

The mention of *valabhi* which signifies an upper room, pinnacle, or temporary top of a structure, and the equation of a *prāsāda* with *valabhi* as the *śikhara-prāsāda* type in the early stage of development of these concepts, mainly purport to stand either for a gable type with *amalasāra* at the top and *chandraśāla* (dormer window) at the sides, as in the case of Gop temple, or for a flat roofed shrine

9. The Kusuma (Sirohi District, Rajasthan) inscription of *Vikrama* era 693 (637 A.D.)—*op.cit*—mentions a temple (*saudha*) for *Śiva*, and calls the same as *Viśāla-devabhavana* and a *sadman*.

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developing into a shrine with a roof top (*valabhi*) as in Ladkhan temple or Parvati temple at Nachna. It is further significant to note that at this stage when the multi-storeyed temples were a speciality and comparatively rare, they were given names according to their stature. Thus the maximum was a twelve-storeyed structure, which, if hexagonal, was known as *Meru*. Eleven storeyed one was called *Shaktivān*, ten-storeyed was *Mandara*, nine was *Pāriyātra*, eight was *Alaka*, seven was *Vimāna*, six was *Nandana* and thereafter it was simply called *Panchabhauma Chatushka*, *tribhumi* and *dvibhumi* and *ekabhauma*. In a similar way, the names of *prasadas* with a single *sikhara* (*Sāmānya*) upto those with nine *śikharas* are mentioned. *Mandapas* in front of the four *dvāras* of the temples are also envisaged with or without *śikharas*.[10] Thus we have not only a specific import here for the word *vimāna*, as typifying a seven-storeyed structure, but also that of the word *śikhara* as standing for the entire superstructure in whatever form it is. It is just possible that in the concept of the nine *śikharas*, five *śikharas* and a single *śikhara* are to be found the germs of the *ekāṇḍa*, *panchāṇḍa*, and *Navāṇḍa* types of *Nāgara śikharas*, as seen in Gujarat and elsewhere. This early concept of the different types of temples without any categorisation as *Drāviḍa*[11] or *Nāgara*,

10. Many of the early texts of the south like *Vaikhānasa*, *Mayamata*, *Iśānasivagurudevapaddhati* etc., also mention *mandapas* and *gopuras*. An interesting point to bear in mind here is that *Gopura* was an early feature even in early 8th century A.D. as in the Kailasanatha cave at Kanchi but it was an unprepossessing small unit over the door frame and was called a *dvarasala* and not a Gopura. When the subsidiary shrines became larger and ritually fixed, the cluster had to be highlighted by a good sized entrance tower and thus from the 11th century onwards, we have large-sized *gopurams* starting with only one side first and proliferating later on each of the four sides of each *prakara* of the temple complex. Incidentally, it may be noted that southern *mandapas* in front of the shrine are all flat-roofed, thus suggesting that these *mandapas* were only additions to the main shrine with its *ardha mandapa* which was the most important and homogeneous unit by itself. This practice is in contradistinction to the northern types of temple where even the *Bhoga mandapa*, *Naṭa mandapa* etc. have their own superstructures of the *ghaṇṭasamvarana* type in Western and Central India, and *pidha* type in Orissa. In the Chalukyan country, the flat roofed *mandapa* type is more common, indicating its nearer relation to Southern temple concept.

11. However, the reference to a hexagonal temple plan (*Meru*) would seem to echo the *Drāviḍa* arch type which, as adumbrated by the *Śilpa*

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and also without ground plan or form or shape of *śikhara* being the chief criterion for the temple arch types is represented by both *Vishnudharmottara* and *Brihatsamhitā* both of which would pertain to the latter part of the Gupta period. From the description of the elevation of the temples of this stage, which develop later into the truly *Nāgara* types, as exemplified in *Samarāngana sūtradhāra,* Aparajitaprichcha etc.; we know that even in the developed northern form, the typical six-fold division of the elevation of the temple into *adhishṭhāna, pāda, prastara, grīva, śikhara* and *stūpi* (as obtained in the *Drāviḍa* temple scheme from its early though not formative, to the mature stages) is singularly absent, and, on the other hand, an entirely divergent disposition of the *aṅgas* of the temple wherein above the *prastara* or *vāraṇḍika* the *śikhara* alone becomes the most characteristic diagnostic element, followed by narrow *grīva, amalasāra, kalaśa* and *stūpi* is to be observed in the northern context.

Dravida unit and its diversification:

That the southern temples in their earliest stages, as at Mahabalipuram and elsewhere of the main Pallava phase, do not conform to the canons of *Śilpa* texts, architectometrically speaking, is another aspect to be carefully analysed. The elements of the southern temple undoubtedly reach considerable cohesion by the time of Mamalla and certainly by the time of Rajasimha, but those of the former phase particularly were still experimentations of various shapes and would thus be a foundational or fundamental phase for the more purposeful development from the period of Rajasimha onwards. In technical terms, the magnified forms of *alpa vimānas,* (fig. 1—1) like the *kūṭāgāra* type of the *Draupadi ratha,* or the *Śālā* type of the *Bhima ratha* are themselves shown in arithmetical regression in *kshudra-alpa--vimāna* type in the successive *bhūmis* or *talas* of the *Dharmaraja* and the *Arjuna rathas,* forming in sum total a *jāti vimāna* (fig. 1—3). Of all these, *Arjuna ratha* differs from *Dharmaraja ratha* in not being a *Sāndhāra* type in any of the storeys, but is otherwise a *chaturasra*

texts of the south, should have either a hexagonal or octagonal form of *śikhara* and body in its pure form. If this be so, we seem to have such forms familiar to northern text-writers already in the 7th century A.D. or slightly earlier.

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vimāna, which is the most complete and compact, evincing a comprehensive growth alike of its ground plan as of its elevation. This temple alone shows the differentiation of the relative projections corresponding to the *hāra, alīnda,* and *garbhagriha* + *grihapindi* in the three main sections of the wall, and the two recessioned sections in between. This is indeed the chastest and the most basic unit of the southern order. *Dharmaraja ratha,* on the other, has a plinth which does not show any *bhadra* and *karna* differentiation, but at the same time the ground *tala* was clearly intended as a type with cloister circuit around the cella. Its *adhishṭhāna* is more evolved than that of *Arjuna ratha,* and its corner *Kūṭa-śālās* on the north and south western corners of the *mukha-mandapa* superstructure are found continued in the smaller of the Shore temple group. It is just possible that while *Arjuna ratha* was of Mamalla's time, the ground floor of *Dharmaraja ratha* as indeed a part of the upper storeys also might have been the incomplete work of the time of Paramesvaravarman I.

To revert to the architectometry to which a reference was made earlier, the southern temple structure, even upto the 9th century A.D. does not show any clear conformity with the injunctions laid down in the early southern texts like *Vaikhānasāgama, Mayamata* and *Iśānasivagurudevapaddhati* (in that order), in so far as the actual proportionate measurements of the *angas* of the elevation of the temple, or indeed of the *talacchanda* is concerned. That they certainly have working relationship or ratio among these members of the structure may be conceded. But we do indeed seem to note that only from the early 10th century onwards that *Śilpa* texts really receive fairly correct adherence in actual edifices. This might be an indirect corroboration of the actual age of many of these texts. Quite apart from that, they indicate that although there was the admittedly evolved stage of moderate-sized *jāti-vimānas* which had clearly outgrown the *alpa-vimānas* of the formative stages, the actual erection of *Mukhya* vimānas, was not confidently pursued prior to this period. (fig. 1—4).

Gopura:

It is interesting also to note that by the time of the end of the Imperial Chola period, the shift in emphasis is from the main *prāsāda* or *vimāna* to the *gopura dvāra.* The fact that we do not

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have any elaborate treatment of the *gopuras* with multiple storeys in the more early of the *Śilpa* texts, already mentioned, would show that the posterior limit of these texts could also be reasonably fixed by this non-mention. Within this period, we have the *jāti-vimānas* dominating the scene, with the *alpa* and *mukhya* class less profuse. The former category actually formed the bulk in the initial stages of the structural period. The early *Śilpa* texts postulate that upto 4 *talas* the *vimānas* are to be termed *alpa*, although, as long as they involve collective units of miniature shrines on their *talas*, they will be categorised as *jāti vimānas*. *Mukhya vimāna*, on the other hand, is a large temple, is also a *jāti-vimāna* and has a specific proportionate measurement, for instance its height is to be thirteen parts as compared to its width which is to be 7 parts, and could have a maximum width of 70 *hastas* and in the case of the maximum of 12 storeys can have a height of 100 cubits = 200′ approximately. The Great temple at Tanjore should be classed a *Mukhya vimāna* of 13 storeys excluding the double unit of its *bhumi-tala*, which rises to a height of a little less than 200′.

Alpa, Jati and Mukhya vimānas:

While in the Tamil country, the *vimānas* proper diminish to less than medium size of that of an *alpa vimāna* from the Pandyan times, we have no such practice observable in the peripheral regions where the Gangas imitating Pallava styles, and later the Hoysalas imitating Chalukyan styles, have invariably a temple unit comprising the *jāti vimāna* of medium to large size, to which is added the full axial complement of *ardhamandapa* and *mahāmandapa*, the latter often diagonally placed with reference to the main axis in the more evolved forms of the Hoysala *milieu*. This is never the mode in the entire run of the temples in Tamil country. They are always axially placed with sides facing the cardinal directions. An important point to be noted, however, is that at all stages there had been *jāti* and *mukhya vimānas*, in all regions but *alpa vimānas* only in the earliest stage. We have *kshudra alpa vimānas* of a single *tala* of the *Drāviḍa* order shown mostly in rock reliefs as at Mamallapuram or Uṇḍavalli. We have *alpa vimānas* of the Chola times as in Kadambavanesvara temple at Narttamalai. We have *jāti vimānas* of monolithic style as at

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Mamallapuram (Early Pallava) and Kalugumalai (Early Pandya). The structural *alpa vimānas* of *jāti* type are in the Shore temple at Mamallapuram, in the Iravathanesvara, Piravatanesvara, and Tripurantakesvara at Kanchi. We have the *jāti vimānas* which are not, however, *mukhya vimānas,* as the *Kailāsanātha* and *Vaikunthaperumal* of Kanchi. It is significant to note that there had been temples of similar number of *talas* which in gross size, however, vary considerably owing to the basic dimensions of their ground plan. For instance, the larger Shore temple or Kshatria Simhesvara is a *chatustala vimāna* and so is Kailasanatha. But certainly the latter is structurally more dominant than the former despite the former's relatively greater height with reference to its own width. Further, even in the matter of regional styles, it is the relationship of the width on the *Vinyāsasūtra* to its height that constituted the significant factor in determining the *milieu.* The Chalukyan and in its wake the Rashtrakuta structural temples have always high 2nd and 3rd storey *pāda* and thus the *prastara* of the first storey (or ground floor) is well set off by the higher *pāda* of the next *tala* (1st floor) and similarly in the 2nd floor, which is only slightly less in height than the lower. The third floor or fourth storey, however, is relatively much shorter than the preceding and indeed a feeling of immediate reduction of the *tala* to reach the *grīva* and *śikhara* with a rounded skyline is perceptible. *Kāśyapaśilpa* gives the proportionate *talacchanda* of such edifices. It is this tendency that makes even the *jāti vimānas* of the lower order in the Chalukyan country (whether Western or Eastern) to appear seemingly high storeyed, though only three or four storeyed at best. The examples are upper Sivalaya at Badami, Meguti temple at Aiholi, Sangamesvara temple and Jain temple at Pattadakal (followed even in the much later Jain temple at Lakkundi), temples at Draksharamam and Biccavolu and the Chandraprabha temple at Jina Kancipuram. The temples of Tondaimandalam, Cholanadu and Pandyanadu, however, have had a more even rhythm of *tala* proportions, with reference to the basal width and height, and it is seen that a gradual diagonal recession of the superstructural profile[12] is kept in mind.

12. The Ganga temples, particularly in the evolved stage, as at Narasamangala, have their *prastara* very tall rising almost equal to the pada of the next *tala* and indeed hiding the *pāda* behind it completely and seemingly showing the *prastara* of the next *tala* almost in continuation with it. The

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Brihat Samhitā and the early chapters of *Agnipurāṇa* do not classify temples according to *Nāgara, Drāviḍa* or *Vesara,* nor according to regions. It is entirely on proportionate measurement. While *Lāṭa* (meaning Gujarat) mentioned in *Agnipurāṇa* has certainly a regional connotation, *Nagāra* has no geographical existence in ancient times. *Samarāngana* does not show *Vesara* at all, although *Iśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* mentions it, and is broadly contemporary to the former (c. 9th-11th century A.D.). As *Vesara* would seem to stand for apsidal temples in the main, as dealt with already, the absence of the apsidal form for Hindu temples of the early, premediaeval stages in the north perhaps accounted for the absence of their mention in these texts dealing largely with square sectioned Nagara shrines of the *rekha* type.

Ganga temples have some similarity with the temples in Pudukkottai area like Kodumbalur and Koranganatha temple at Srinivasanallur (Trichy District). The latter temple is practically on the Kongu border and thus is of a class with Narasamangala in having ground tala in stone and rest including the entablatures of ground floor in brick and stucco.

Dharmaraja ratha is the only Pallava composition, either monolithic or of the structural mode, in which the *kūṭa* and *śālā śikharas* are shown even on the topmost *tala* below the main *grīva* and *śikhara.* We find most fittingly that even at Mahakutesvar and Badami also, this structural element is indicated, as in the case of Lower Sivalaya and Malegitti Sivalaya in the latter place, and as the Makutesvar temple was obviously erected coeval with its Dhvajastambha bearing inscription of the time of Mangalesa c. 602 A.D. (now in Bijapur Municipal Museum), we should place Badami examples also not long after this, say, in the 1st quarter of the 7th century A.D. If so, the question arises who initiated the first arche-type—the Chalukyan country or the Pallava country? Dharmaraja *ratha* cannot be placed later than Paramesvaravarman, successor to Mamalla, *i.e.,* to the end or the 2nd half of the 7th century A.D. This chronological posteriority of the Pallava example would perhaps make it indebted to the Chalukyan arche-type of Makutesvar and Badami. A significant difference between the two, however, is that in the Chalukyan examples an additional set of four *kūṭa śikharas* are verily pasted on, in three-quarter relief, to the *grīva* on it diagonals and their *śikharas* rise almost up to the lower part of the main *Śikhara,* In the Pallava examples quoted above, on the other hand, it is a well differentiated main *śikhara* in the round and well above the top level of *kshudra alpa śikharas* of the last *tala.* Does this, in any way, indicate that the Pallava example could have independently evolved? The fact that the Badami example shows a temple lay-out which is more complex or evolved than that of the Pallava counterpart would perhaps make one inclined to think that the Chalukyan and Pallava examples may, while being largely contemporary, have been variant growths in the early and mid-7th century A.D. respectively.

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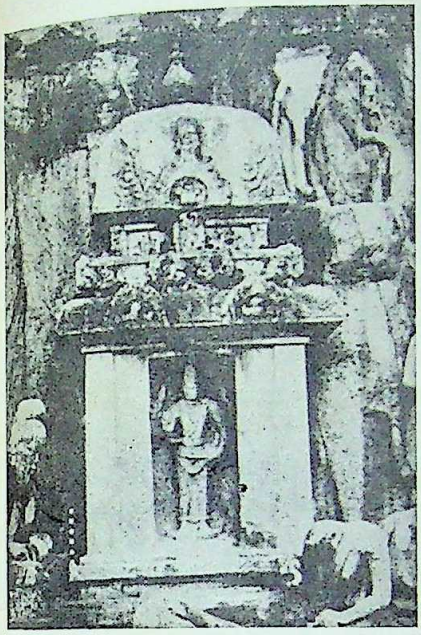

1. Alpa Vimāna

2. Ksudra Alpa Vimāňa
(*indicated by grrow*)

3. Jāti Vimāna

4. Mukhya Vimāna

FIG. 1

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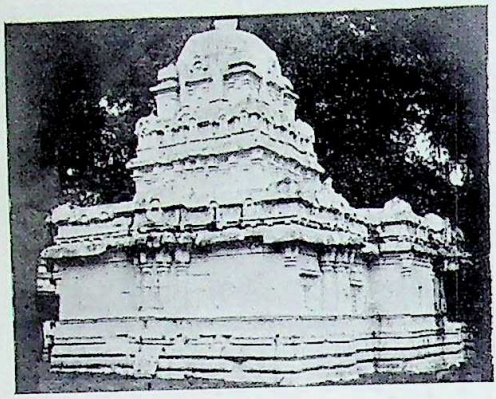
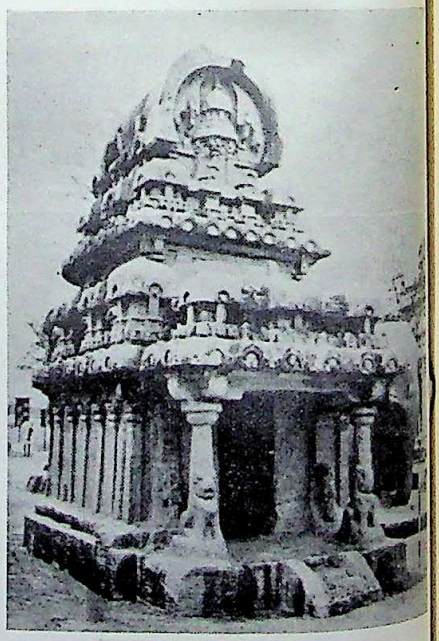


1. Early Drāviḍa Vimāna

2. Early Nāgara Prāsāda

3. Variant Nāgara ('Kadamba') Type



4. Early Vēsara Type

FIG. 2

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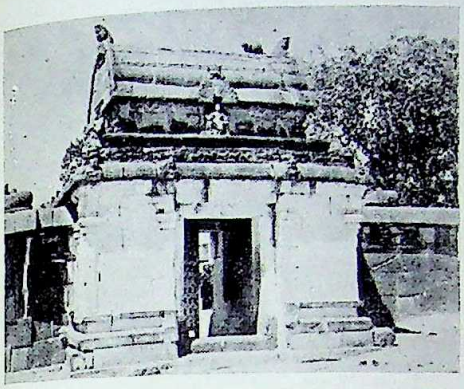
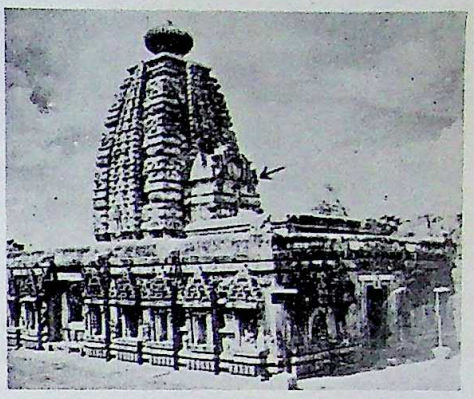
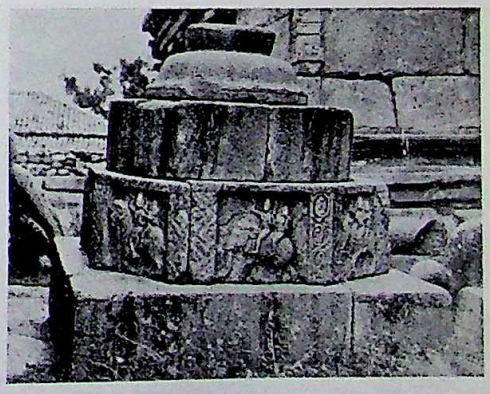


1. Dvāra Śālā
(Proto-type of Early Gopura)



2. Śukanāsa of the Śikhara
(*indicated by arrow*)

3. Ghaṇṭa-samvaraṇa roof of
Nāgara Maṇḍapa
(*indicated by arrow*)



4. Bali-Pīṭha—Jain (with square,
octagonal & circular courses)

FIG. 3

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Definitions in Silparatna:

The late text, *Śilparatna* (16th century) best summarises the differences between *Nāgara, Drāviḍa* and *Vesara* temples. *Nāgara* according to it, is square sectioned from base to top; *Drāviḍa* has the base square, but *śikhara* octagonal or hexagonal; *Vesara* is circular from the base. In the 53rd verse, however, *Śilparatna* says that this classification applies to *harmya* (called high-temple by Kramrisch and standing for *śikhara*) *only* and not to the *kūṭa, koshṭha,* etc. This would mean that the *ksudra-alpa-vimānas* of the *kūṭas* and *sālās,* etc., could have shapes different from the main *śikhara* of the temples in many observed cases. (Fig. 1—2) This disposition was adjusted for by this statement in the text. It may be noted that the main difficulty is between *Drāviḍa* and *Nāgara,* since *Vesara* temples do not normally have any *kūṭas,* but sometimes only *sālās* (as in *Sahadeva ratha*), etc., unless even a South Indian temple with circular *śikhara* alone but square body was to be called *Vesara.* Thus it is apparent that both *Iśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* and *Śilparatna* have been compiled at the time when the construction not only of *mukhya vimanas,* but also those with *kūṭa* and *śālā śikharas,* different from the main *harmya,* had been a well-known practice. *Vaikhānasāgama*[13] which seems to be the earliest text in South refers to *Drāviḍa* as *Drāviḍī,* and *Vesara* types (VI-11. 6-7). It also refers to *kūṭa, koshṭha, panjara, garbhagriha, pindi, alīnda* and *hāra,* besides *prākāra, gopura, torana* etc. The unit, further, comprises *garbhagriha, antarāla, mukhamandapa, madhyama mandapa* and *mahāmandapa,* and hence this text perhaps could not have developed much earlier than the mid 8th century A.D.

Terms in Vaikhanasagama:

Vaikhānasagama also speaks of the *nritta mandapa* in front of *Mahāmandapa,* and *Asthāna mandapa* at the South East corner. The gopuras are named as of 5 classes; *dvāraśobhā, dvāraśālā,* (fig. 3-1) *dvāraprāsāda, dvāraharmya, dvāragōpura.* While mentioning the height or *utsedha* of the *gopura,* the *Vaikhānasāgama* text says that all the *vinyāsa, ganya, alankāra* etc. of the *utsedha*

13. Its slightly variant, more informative, and relatively later version is called Marichi's *Vimānārchanakalpa.* This mentions *Drāviḍa, Nāgara* and *Vesara.* It appears to be a further elaboration of Vaishnavite temple ritual.

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should follow that laid down for the *mūla-prāsāda*, from single *tala* to 12 *talas*. This would mean that a *pancha-tala mūla-prāsāda* would have a *pancha tala gopura*. As we know it, in the earliest example of *gopura* as at Kailasanatha at Kanchi or elsewhere at Laddigam, we have an ekatala *Śālāśikhara gopura* over the entrance, although the temple is of the *chatushtala* order. It is in the mid-Chola times that we have *gopuras* almost approximating in storeys, if not in gross dimensions, to that of the main *vimāna*. Thus it is largely an unconsolidated postulate—perhaps, sparingly applied—that has been made in the *Vaikhānasāgama* text, perhaps consistent within its early antiquity. It is interesting to note here that the term *dvārasobhā*, in the sense of a *gopuradvāra*, has been utilised by the *Vishnudharmottara* also — LXXXVI — and it has also dormer windows called *Chandraśāla*. The fact that '*kūṭas*' are used simultaneously with '*amalasāras*' in the above work would further show that '*kūṭa*' meant mainly a square-sectioned *bhūmi*, but it becomes the *alpa vimāna* in the south. We may also note that the structure '*Himavān*' of *Visnudharmottara*, with its four doors with *sopanas* for each of them, would have been the prototype of the *chaukhandi* or *chaumukh* and of the Jains, the most picturesque, simplified and boldly worked rock-cut example of which, in *Drāviḍa* style, we have at Ellora, in front of Indra Sabha.

Unity of southern compositions:

South Indian architecture, in so far as temples of the more early stages are concerned, reveals a remarkable unity of composition, notwithstanding the variations imposed upon it by regional inflections, geographical or meteorological factors and indeed by the very process of transition between rock-cut and structural architecture at each of these places, placing the architects in a challenging context for matching available raw-materials with acceptable temple forms then gradually evolving. In as wide a set of regions as the early west Chalukyan zone, centred around Badami, Mahakutesvar, Aiholi and Pattadakkal, the eastern Chalukyan-Vishnukundin or Telugu Choda zone centred around Guntur, Cuddapah, Nellore, Krishna and Godavari Districts, and the Pallava-Pandya zones in the Tamilnad, we have the genesis of the vigorous modes of temple architecture, the *vāstu vidyā*. It would be unrealistic to consider these regions and the archi-

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tectural activities fostered there in early times as entirely isolated processes. They were not only mutually responsive but were truly having contact zones with hybrid or lingering stages of the prime norms set in vogue in the nucleating zones.

In the study of architectural forms as found in such large numbers all over the country, we have to take into account two basic factors. While undoubtedly a considerable significance was attached to the hieratic formulæ which specify the proportionate measurements of the main parts of the shrine like the *adhishṭāna, pāda, prastara, grīva* and *śikhara,* such advice was indeed not available in the case of the earliest groups of the extant temples of the different regions, the *Śilpa* and *Vāstu* texts having evolved largely in the late Gupta period in the north (c. 600 A.D.), and the *Āgamas* at a little later stage in the south (after the 7th century A.D.). This is well explained by the often unconventional modes of construction and unconsolidated ritual features in the earliest of these temples. The second factor is that in this formative period there was the largest degree of coalescence of different Pauranic and iconographic elements, on the one hand, and a relative paucity of deep knowledge or tradition of structural architecture, particularly in stone, on the other. Brick architecture had already made considerable strides in the earlier stages of Buddhist dominance on the Indian hieratic architectural scene. This gave rise to an adoption of many expedients in the understanding and application of the structural units in a *jāti vimāna* — which was a growing objective — and in the balancing of solids and voids in the interior elevation of the temple. It is interesting to note that most of the early *Śilpa* texts deal mainly with a *vimāna* which though attaining a respectable stature in elevation was in the axial lay-out or ground plan, of a remarkably rudimentary and compact character, comprising nothing very much more than the cella body proper, with an *ardha mandapa, prāg-grīva* or *mukhamandapa* as it happened to be called. Even in a subsequent stage, this situation was only slightly bettered by the addition to the *ardha mandapa* of a *mahāmandapa,* though of a rather schematic or abbreviated type in front of the cella body and well integrated with it. The ceiling divisions and pillar dispositions in the *mandapa* in front of the cella largely achieved this compact schematic unit of cella, ardha- and mahā-mandapas. The early *Vastu* texts do indeed speak of *mandapas* and *prākāras* but

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we are led to believe that these former were unattached units in the temple premises and were in every sense, auxiliary to the main shrine. We may indeed opine that the functional importance of the shrine was directly proportional to the spacial extent of it, and gods and goddesses, other than that enshrined in the main cella, had to be provided for in largely two-dimensional niches on the walls and on the superstructure of the main *vimāna*, while the lesser gods and the rest of the figure sculpture were billeted on even the pillars of the *mandapa*. An important additional feature was that the cella and the *mandapa* either of the *ardha-mandapa* type or a composite *ardha-and-mahā-mandapa* type — with only an external divisive lay-out indicated by a constriction in between the two units, serving also as the *salilāntara* recesses for the discharge of the storm water of the roof — were essentially of a covered hall type and thus the entire unit, to all intents, was an integrated compact set-up which, in relation to the height of the *vimāna*, was of complementary dimensions, growing in its proportions with the vertical enlargement of the superstructural scheme. The temples were mostly reared on a plinth which served not only to raise the level of the floor within from that of the surrounding ground, but also to elevate the entire stature of the *vimāna* by a relative and proportionate character of the *aṅgas* of the temple elevation, while an additional *upapīṭha* or lower plinth was not the invariable rule nor too early a device, but was not unknown in places where the location needed special emphasis. It was, however, to become an accepted norm of the *mukhya vimānas* of the Mediaeval times.

Square, octagon and circle in Vastu-kala:

An interesting character of the compositional concepts of the early temple and its elements like the plinth, pillars and *śikhara*, was the incessant application of the square, octagonal and circular shapes to the various parts of the emple. Indeed it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that these three forms constituted the *adhāra* — the very foundation of the entire *Vāstu-kalā*, as applied in temples. The Vedic sacrificial pillars of wood were expected to be square-sectioned at the base, octagonal in the middle and circular-sectioned in the upper part. These, apparently, gave the inspiration to the basic *linga* form later, in temples, particularly since it was the Vedic Skambha that was transformed into the Śiva-Rudra of the later periods. The very division of the *linga*

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shaft into Brahma- Siva- and Vishnu-*bhāgas* in the elevation, the parts comprising the square, octagonal and circular shapes, indicate that, along with the Trinity who formed the fundamental iconic nexus and brought a degree of interrelation to the differentiating sectarian practices, the square became *basic* to the entire conception and octagon and circle were evolved from it.[14] The tendency to erect square-planned temples (*samachaturasra*), and erect upon it either an equally square, or octagonal or circular superstructure or *śikhara* was thus quite an early feature and would flow from the strictly logical acceptance of square as a cardinal form. The disposition of the four cardinal directions with which a temple was invariably interconnected in its orientation was no less responsible for this, and the octagonal rendering was only the addition of the four *vidiks* to the cardinal directions. Side by side with this was the concept of the superstructural form wherein the addition of the apsidal and elliptical resulted in five-fold main *prasadas* known from the earliest times. These were the *Vairāja, Kailāsa, pushpaka, manika* and *trivishṭapa.* It is needless to point out that these two, namely, the apsidal and elliptical, cross-fertilised from the square or oblong (*ayatāsra*) and the circular (*vritta*), in two different stages, the apsidal being earlier and already rooted in early Indian architecture of the Buddhistic creed. Together, these were fruitfully applied to Hindu temples and while square, octagonal and circular continued to flourish perennially the elliptical and the apsidal were relatively to receive only restricted application in the various zones, the former largely limited to the *śikhara* of the early mediaeval and mediaeval Vishnuite shrines, while the latter was restricted mainly or only to the body in the early types, and differentially applied on the superstructure upto the mediaeval times.

We had mentioned that the earliest temples confined the subordinate *devatās* to the *koshṭhas* of the *vimāna* wall and superstructure. Since regulation was the prime trait of ritual applica-

14. Early *lingas* as at Udayagiri, Ellora, Elephanta etc., however, have only a lower square and upper circular sectioned shaft parts and these were formative in many other aspects. They are called 'arsha' in the texts, like Mayamata, and form a typical feature of Chalukya cave shrines of the Deccan and in the archtypes, as in the two second-mentioned places, have additionally a slightly constricted lower part and a bulging end part in the visible linga shaft. They do not seem to be found outside the Chalukya cave monuments or region.

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tion, the places of gods also were stipulated on the temple wall in the texts as well as on the extant examples thereof. These again had an initial stage when the Trinity were always kept in close liaison, and a later polarised stage when these were to be allotted their own independent temple-complexes. An intermediate stage was when there was a syncretisation of the Trinity and other subordinate deities producing a pleasing, if transitory, polymorphism in iconographic concepts. The enlargement of the layout of the temple complex in the south, at least, was thus the direct result of the polarisation of the Hindu faith into identifiable Saivite and Vishnuite creeds. Notwithstanding this which appears to have been achieved by the end of the 8th century A.D., and got well consolidated by the mid-9th century A.D., we do have to consider the architectural import of the distributional scheme of subsidiary deities in the early temples, because it is here that we have the fundamental norms which tended to get blurred by their composite character in the early architectural compositions. Before we deal with these further, we should elucidate the three most harried terms in temple architectural parlance, namely, *Nāgara, Drāviḍa* and *Vesara* and retrieve them from the undeserved harassment they had been subjected to.

The question is naturally emerging if there was any conception of the ternary classification of styles in a more analytical manner than is suggested by the empirical categorisation, merely by the shape of the *śikhara, which word is itself taken in the southern sense.* We may deal with this question with some confidence as there had definitely been attempts on the part of the *Śilpa* text writers to indicate what is the detailed or the constituent elements of a *nāgara, drāviḍa,* or *vesara vimāna.* This is not to assert that they had been able to achieve both cohesion and clarity in it. Even so, we may find out how best they had been able to come to grips with the matter, and what incidental characteristics emerged therefrom. What the early Śilpa texts, chiefly of the southern India, tend to convey by the ternary classification is the fact that square, apse, or circle, and octagon have been specifically selected as connoting one of the main features of the three types of vimānas which had developed in the south to which the names *Nāgara, Vesara* and *Drāviḍa* have been given. As such a variation or range is not noticeable in the northern India, we straight away accept the region of currency of this ternary classi-

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fication as mainly the country south of the Vindhyas. That being the case, it would be asked what exactly is the import of these three terms. Are they regional, geographical, stylistic or merely terminological on the basis of special significance of these terms, at the time of their vogue? Assuming plausibly that these three terms had not come into existence by the time of *Vishnudharmottara, Brihatsamhita,* etc., we are in a position to give an outside date of *c.* 650 A.D. to the transitional phase when the older conception of five shapes and 20 *vimāna* types as detailed in the above texts had given place to a more empirical and definitive, if only diagnostic, elements which would cover all the *vimāna* types which were then existing in south India. Thus, square, rectangular, circular, elliptical and octagonal had been superseded by square, circular and octagonal, thus introducing a geometrical *rationale* in the categorisation — square embracing the rectangle also and circle embracing ellipse also. This consolidation of the basic shapes was a progressive trend. However, in deciding which part of the *vimāna* should carry this distinctive label, there were obvious practical difficulties, square temples and circular or apsidal (which is a combination of circle and rectangle) *vimānas* having already been in vogue during Buddhist supremacy. Thus, it was obvious that the third type should be something that was neither square nor circle. In deciding that it should be the octagon, many considerations would have prevailed. Firstly, octagon, as *Trivishṭapa* of the above classification, had already received some weight. Octagon was got by cutting the angles of the square and is indeed the next stage of enlargement of a square. It was also standing for the *vidiks* in the distribution of the *Dikpālas.* In deriving a circle from a square, it was midway.

Linga-pitha forms:

This last aspect has already been epitomised as referred to earlier, in the *Linga* form of Siva which has a Brahma-*bhāga,* Vishnu-*bhāga* and Siva-*bhāga,* being the square, octagonal and circular thirds of the linga staff.[15] The fact that these three shapes

15. Even in the Jain shrines of the Ganga country we find the *bali-pīṭha* (Fig. 3-4) comprising three slabs, the lowest being square, the next octagonal and the topmost circular, the size decreasing from bottom upwards. It is a recognition of the three main shapes that mattered in architectural terminology in South India.

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are basic was further emphasised by diversifying the *Linga-pīṭha* also into square, octagonal and circular *pīṭhas,* the earliest having been invariably square and the latest invariably circular. It was inevitable to accept square as a primary shape and from this inescapable logic flowed the necessity to provide a square body invariably for the temple *vimāna.* Although circular or apsidal shapes were now and then demonstrated these were more to establish the range of the nomenclatural variations and not so much to establish their utility. The tendency to assimilate the basic shapes namely square, octagonal and circular resulted in this dichotomy, wherein the body of a *vimāna* was almost invariably a square, while the *śikhara* part was either square or octagonal or circular. Thus the topmost part of the elevation, namely, the *śikhara,* alone was susceptible to diversification in a practical or realistic sense in structural architecture. The *talas* or storeys also had to follow the rigorous component *angas* of the ground floor or body plan, and there was no scope for discretionary diversification of their plans. The *alpa-śikharas* of the *karnakūṭas,* however, could have shown the variations but this was deliberately not done in order to stabilise the conventional form of a *vimāna* and in order to control the gradual recession of the elevation of the superstructure from *tala* to *tala,* particularly upto the time when in such an arrangement the *hāra* was of the *anarpita* or detached category—providing for a regular *alinda* or circuit-passage all around the *tala* and not an *arpita* (or of applique character).

Talacchanda in Southern temples:

The utilisation of the square, rectangular and octagonal shape in the *talacchanda* of a southern *vimāna* had also been boldly experimented, though in a later stage, as in the Brihadisvara temple at Gangaikondacholapuram, resulting in an imperceptible curvature for the horizontal plane of the *talas* and for the crescendos of the diagonal elevation. Thus, the division of the *vimana* types into three styles was finding an integrated expression only in the southern country, and this in itself is sufficient evidence of the inauguration of the threefold styles in the south. The fact that northern temples, never show any horizontal plan, other than square (of course, with *ratha* projections) at any level from *adhishṭhāna* to *amalaka* which, however, along with the *grīva* below has necessarily to be circular, was indicative of the part-utilisation of the *vritta* class of temple shape. The other shape, in

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occasional use in the north is the *ayata* or rectangular as in the case of Teli-ka mandir at Gwalior or Vaital Deul at Bhubanesvar and some others in Central India and in cis-Himalayan zone. This is essentially an extension of the square shape. The use of *Kūṭa śikharas, Śālā śikharas* and *Aṣṭasra śikhara,* whether in a *mukhya* or *alpa* form, was entirely a feature of southern temples, thereby fairly effectively confirming the initiation of the ternary classification of *vimāna* styles in the southern country.

Stylistic terminology:

We may now deal with the terms themselves, in an attempt to find if they have any geographical or universal characteristics. *Nāgara,* in so far as it pertains to *Nāgara* or town has essentially a universal import, not being the particular monopoly of any zone. To that extent, it could form a division of any regional classification and is found in early Tamil literature to be synonymous to a temple. *Drāviḍa* is, however, slightly more specific in its connotation. But we may take note of the fact that by *Drāviḍa,* the main significance may be that of a southern unit. It is not certainly known if this word was of any geographical implication. Firstly, geographical delimitation of the *Drāviḍa* country or *Drāviḍa* ethnic groups would, *ipso facto* call for a similar geographical stipulation for the other two styles, namely, *Nāgara* and *Vesara,* (fig. 2—1, 2 and 4) but this is not the case, the Nagara label not being the exclusive preserve of only the Northerners and to no one else. *Vesara* is still farther from any such implication. Secondly, the employment of the terms had undoubtedly a greater connection with the broadly regional incidence of such forms. In this, we are on firmer ground when we note that the western part of Deccan, namely the lower Konkan area had almost always, from very early times, taken recourse to square ground plan in each *tala* upto top resulting in what is, from a utilitarian point of view, often called the *Kadamba* style (fig. 2—3). The central part of Lower Deccan, in the Western Chalukyan zone, had been the promotor of the octagonal shape in part-liaison also with the Pallavas of the north Tamil Nad. The eastern sea board of the Lower Deccan had been the chief seat of Buddhism which had displayed the greatest partiality for circular *stūpas* and apsidal structures in such large numbers that the region perhaps came to be associated in the minds of builders of ritual architectural shrines, with circular or apsidal

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plan.[16] It was thus more a hangover from the immediately preceding phase in hieratic constructions than any specific geographical import. Literally, as already explained by many writers on the subject, the word *Vesara* does not have any regional ring, but could mean either *dvyāsra* or two linear-limbed—thereby signifying an apse—or *vesara* in the sense of a mule or a hybrid. Thus the word *Vesara* does not have nomenclatural relativity with *Drāviḍa* or *Nāgara* and all the three are quiet heterogeneous in their terminological import. By this token, the term *Vesara* is less liable to stand for *dvyāsra* than the sense of a hybrid, since the other two terms *Dravida* and *Nagara* do not have any corresponding connotation bearing on the nature and number of linear sides (*asra*). In that case, they should have been called *chaturasra* and *aṣṭāsra* straight away. Even when the *chaturasra* or an *aṣṭāsra* or *Vasvasra* (*Vasus* having the value of eight) are mentioned in *Śilpa* texts, we do not have the jargon-*dvy-āsra* used in the same context for apsidal forms. Thus, the ternary jargon was merely a facile, popular, familiar, utilitarian and non-technical one—chosen on the basis of the natural responsiveness the terms then produced, on the architects as well as the votaries—lay or learned—of the south. The palm undoubtedly went to the *Nāgara* as the basic shape, because *Nāgara* signified the very sophisticated elite of classical society and thus the most fundamental was promptly attributed to *Nāgara*.[17] As for *Drāviḍa*, it is just likely that it had a purely indigenous and southern ring, and at one time, the entire lower Deccan and deeper south went by the name *Drāviḍa*

16. In the early northern text of *Visnudharmottara* we have a separate chapter for a structural shape called therein as *Aiḍuka* (Ch. 84) which in its components and form would, ostensibly stand for the votive or sepulchral *stūpa* (see Hemachandra—Kosa IV-69) shape as extensively known in north India upto the 7th century A.D. and wherein, the base was square, the main body hemispherical and the top a series of thirteen circular discs or *cattras*. Hindu Trinity, however, is found associated with this type in the textual description. The only example of an *Aiḍuka* type that we can piece out from vestigial existence, is the famous temple excavated at Ahicchchatra where even today, we find *lingā* placed on the top (perhaps in later times, on the basis of prior traditions). In Buddhist parlance, it would apply with great force to the miniature stupas we find in good number in the north around the 6th-7th centuries A.D., and later.

17. It is also taken by some writers that *Nāgara Khanda* or Konkan area first utilised it, perhaps in the so-called Kadamba style.

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(or *Dramiḷa* or *Ḍamirike* of the classical western writers). Indeed *Nāgara* and *Drāviḍa* juxtaposed would mean what is more cardinal in relation to what is local, and the term *Vesara* was a result of the impact of the two, with the accent largely upon circular and apsidal forms which *Nāgara* and *Drāviḍa* did not directly signify. Considering the initiation of the Brahmanical religious architectural phases, whether rock-cut or structural all over the country, outside the period covered by the early texts or *Puranas* and within the scope of documentation of the *Silpa* and *Agama* texts of post 7th century A.D., we are left almost without any option in holding that the western, central and eastern lower Deccan were the *cradles* of such a stone architectural era, and correspondingly the north, with its shrines either of the *Rekhā śikhara* or of *Lāṭa* style or *Bhūmija* and Kalinga styles, favouring largely a square plan at successive elevational phases, capped yet by an *amalaka śilā* (thereby giving a variant connotation to the word *Śikhara*, as different from its southern parlance) was the largest single stylistic zone and had a claim to a unitary nomenclatural category. Thus *Nagara*, in this secondary sense of the tract or tracts where the basic square shape was almost universally and exclusively adopted, came to have stuck to Northern Indian temples (including the western Gujarati and eastern Kalinga flanks), while *Drāviḍa* and *Vesara*, over which the northern tract could not lay even a distant claim, on any basis, indicated styles with which essentially the southern part of the country was conversant. The cradles of the earliest southern architecture, however, show the square form in the cave style and square, octagonal and circular forms in the structural, whereas the square form *alone* is the norm in the north at each successive phase, if we left out the early Buddhist and Ajivika phases in Punjab, Madhyadesa and Bihar, of the Mauryan times and around the Christian epoch.

Now the Silpa texts, notwithstanding their parrot-like reference to the diagnostic elements of the *Nāgara, Drāviḍa* and *Vesara śikhara* do not aver that these formulæ *alone* constitute the sole arbiters of the ternary style range. They have themselves definitely taken pains to show what are the other more important, if less catchy, *bhedas* in this three-fold grouping. The *Mayamata Kāmikāgama*, and even later texts like *Manasara* and *Kāśyapaśilpa*, show the component characteristic of the three styles, in elevation, lay-out, auxiliary features, etc., and educate us on the fact that

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what has been said of the *sikhara* is not a classification that has any absolutely binding character, but has only a suggestive or visual impact. The *Nāgara vimāna* of southern style or the *Nāgara prāsāda* of its northern counter-part, was certainly very much more than a mere square concept; correspondingly, *Drāviḍa* and *Vesara vimānas* also were more than a matter of octagonal or circular top. It would be an unscientific oversimplification to give undue emphasis to the *śikhara* classification of the ternary style grouping, particularly when such a thing does not apply directly to the Northern temples. The component elements of the northern and southern temples are specifically and fundamentally divergent, despite certain affinities in the concepts of ornamentation and mouldings, and it was this burgeoning fact that resulted in separate northern texts like *Samarānganasūtradhāra, Aparājita Prichchā* etc., which, though undoubtedly giving passing and patently cursory treatment to southern terms like *Drāviḍa,* and *Vesara,* glorify the elaboration that the *Nagara* style had undergone in Northern India in different regions, giving rise to specific local sub-styles like the *Lāṭa, Bhūmija, Kalinga* etc. This is a far cry from the *śikhara* classification of the southern *śilpa* texts. This is as it should be, because the main attention, in the southern texts, was given to an integrated three-fold classification of temple styles at the very formative stages of Brahmanical ritual architecture, and *cliches* were necessary to make rough-and-ready identification of the styles. Further, these always applied to the smallest unit of such a concept, namely an *alpa-vimāna* of single *tala.* This was certainly not the very ultimate in architectural endeavour, and where the *talacchanda* introduced more clear-cut and logical architectural patterns, where ritual utility and architectural symmetry were harmonised, the nomenclature *Drāviḍa, Nāgara* and *Vesara,* as purely restricted to the *śikhara* alone, became an obsolete feature, though repeated even in the late texts. It would, however, be quite reasonable to speak of a *Nāgara śikhara* or *Drāviḍa śikhara,* where one is talking *only* about the topmost part of a southern *vimāna* which happens to be square, octagonal or circular, but to speak of a *Nāgara* or *Vesara vimāna* where the *śikhara* alone is square or circular would be straight-jacketing the majestic stature of the southern *vimāna.* Indeed, all southern *vimānas* are essentially *Drāviḍa vimānas,* irrespective of their being able to sport an octagonal *sikhara,* except perhaps where they are using only circular, or apsidal body as well as superstructural parts,

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Nāsikās:

Nāsikās are an important element in the temple architectural styles. In the *Nāgara* style prevalent in the large part of North India, nāsikās do not occur particularly after the 11th century A.D. Gujarat, on the one hand and Orissa on the other had shown the use of *nāsikās* or *Mahānāsikā* or *Śukanāsa* (Fig. 3-2) on the *śikharas* and this has obviously been drawn from the early Deccani examples. It is in the Chalukyan temples that in both *Nāgara* and *Drāviḍa vimānas* that *nāsikās* are employed. It is not prevalent in the Pallava examples and the subsequent Tamilnad temples. In the Chalukyan style, there is a combination of many elements that makes it one of the earliest zones of experimentation of these forms, on the basis of which the ternary classification of *Drāviḍa, Nāgara* and *Vesara* had been propounded. For instance, we have the earliest structural temples in Badami, Mahakutesvar and Pattadakkal. The temples at Aiholi show certain purer forms as well. The more important examples in the four places mentioned are not liable to be dated later than the time bracket 550-750 A.D. They show such ingenuity in the integration of various elements that they inevitably formed the basis for subsequent developments as in Eastern Chalukyan structural styles. We have square-sectioned *talas* with a *samachaturasra śikhara,* we have regular *Drāviḍa* compositions with *karnakūṭa, nāsika panjara, bhadraśālā,* and such *hāras* on each of the *talas,* rising in distinguishable tiers upto the *grīva* with all these units, even the *grīva,* having *karnakutas* applied to the *vidiks.* We have *sāndhāra* and *nirandhāra* forms of these. We have typical *Rekhā Nāgara śikharas* with *nāsikās* in front, we have the typical *kūṭa, śālā, panjara* types of vimānas with *mahānāsikās* on the main orientation of the superstructure alone. While the Chalukyan *mahānāsikās* are invariably of the differentiated kind owing to the flat roof that obtains in front of main tower, the *Lāṭa* temples sport an undifferentiated as well as a differentiated *mahānāsikā,* on account of the presence of additional towers over the lineal mandapas—the *mahānāsikā* capping the *ardhamandapa* or *antarala* alone.

Mandapa roof types:

The southern temples invariably have a flat roof for their front *mandapas,* however large or long they may happen to be.

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This is in sharp variance to the northern (whether of Gujarat, Madhyadesa or Orissa and Central India) temples which invariably show individual towers over each of adjoining *mandapas* on the axial or transverse line, these towers usually taking the shape of *Ghaṇṭa-samvaraṇa* type, (Fig. 3—3) or *'pītha'* type which is but a simplification of it. This gives a skyline of distinction for the main *Prāsāda* with its tower in relation to the axial lay-out, but makes a heavy cluster of towers and necessitates also the tower over the cella to be relatively higher than that of the *mandapas* in front. In southern temples, however, the main *vimāna* continues to be the most important and main entity, the *mandapas* in front being mere adjuncts whose extent could vary to suit the time and place but which can never usurp the nobility of the main *vimāna*. This feature is available in the Chalukyan *vimānas* also, whether of the typical *Nāgara rekhā* type or *Drāviḍa* type, with either a sqare, or circular or octagonal *śikhara*. Further, all the Chalukyan temples[18] whether of the *rekhā* or *Davida* type of towers, have a fairly continuous *vinyāsasūtra* line on its *vimāna* body as well as that of the front *mandapas*, except from the 12th century A.D., when there is a development of a *rangamandapa* with a cruciform shape. The northern temples, however, have the bold *ratha* projections in clear-cut *triratha* or *panca-ratha* or *sapta-ratha* projections with corresponding registers on the elevation, known as *panchanga* or *saptanga bāḍa*, in addition to the minimum of three *bāḍas*. This is one of the major differences between the true northern temples and the southern, and implicit in this statement is the justifiable assumption that the so-called early *Nāgara* temples, particularly of the *rekhā* type in the Deccan, with their chaste and clear cut shape and outline are indeed the inventions of the southern genius, and it is these that the southern *śilpa* texts refer to as *Nāgara*. Similarly, the northern *śikharas*, except in very early cases, are invariably provided with *anukāyas* like *karnatilakas, urah-sringas*, etc. in such

18. It is in the later Chalukyan evolution of the Hoysala style of the stellate plan, we see diagonal *rangamandapa* and bold vertical converging ribbing, corresponding to the points of the star plan, notwithstanding the admittedly storeyed horizontal *tala* divisions, and in all these temples invariably we have a *śukanāsa* attached to the main tower of the cella, on its front.

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cluster that the *mūlamanjari* is all but hidden upto its top one third. The Deccani *rekhā vimānas*, on the other hand, are essentially *ekāṇḍa* with clear-cut *bhūmis* and *karnāmalakas*, the *bhūmis* themselves imitating the southern temple profile with their own *adhishṭhāna*, *pāda*, and *prastara* parts. The *latina* and early *ekāṇḍa śikharas* of Gujarat, as well as the early Pratihara architecture of Marwar are to some extent nearer to such an application, but they are the further compressions of the bold, tiered composition of the *bhūmis* of the Deccani *rekhā* superstructure. The absence of the use of *śārdūlas*, either on the crest of the *nāsikās* or *urahsringas* etc. or in the *salilāntara* recesses, as found in the north (including Gujarat and Kalinga), in the Chalukya-Rashtrakuta zone is another notable feature. The presence of large-sized *dvārapālas* is, correspondingly, a typical southern feature, not obtaining in the north.

Architectural forms and iconography:

It is interesting to note that the emergence of the early forms of architecture, particularly rock-cut or monolithic, had a direct bearing upon the popular pantheon to which temple construction was subservient. The individuality of specific gods or goddesses had influenced the exact character of their shrine chambers. The Bhima *ratha* of Mamallapuram was clearly intended for a reclining Anantasayi, and thus was rectangular in layout, the *manika* form of the ancient texts, *manika* itself affiliated strongly to *nāga* and thus perhaps to the *Śeshaśāyi* form of *Viṣnu*. This temple has a circumambulatory also incompletely carved, and thus, together with *Dharmaraja ratha*, shows that the ritual circuit around the *garbhagriha* was apparently in vogue already. This has the alternative elliptical plan, as at Srirangam, Tirukkoilur, etc., giving rise to a corresponding elliptical *śikhara*. *Durga* temple of Mamallapuram of the *kūṭāgāra* or a simple square unit is again a basic form, and has been separately indicated in relation to the other basically square compositions like *Dharmaraja* and *Arjuna rathas*, mainly to stress the basic difference between both types. It is also apposite that without the Mahisha-slaying form, Durga, who is tantamount to Mahalakshmi, as shown by her deer mount (Harīni), besides the tiger, and who is an *adhāra devata* from whom *Śri*, *Śakti* and *Sarasvati* had emerged, had been appro-

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priately given the fundamental, square plan of the chastest or rudimentary *Nāgara* kind allotted to her shrine. The rectangle itself tends to become ellipse as already pointed above, in the reclining Anantasayi type, and this has been suggested even in rock-cut enterprises, as in the Tirumeyyam cave, where the rocky canvas upon which the large and powerful composition of *Śesha-śāyi Viṣnu* and divine groups around is carved, has a basic semi-elliptic curvature of wall space, suggesting that intrinsically it is tending to depict an elliptical shrine.

That square and circle themselves were harmonised in order to produce what could be, from the purely nomenclatural angle, called the *Vesara vimāna*, had been achieved in the Vijayalayacholisvaram at Narttamalai. Here the *garbhagriha* is circular, which is again reflected in first floor, and with the circular plan rising up in the second floor also, continues upwards with a circular *grīva* and *śikhara*. This is perhaps a truly *Vesara* temple. The indications of such specific experimentations would be that the final diversification of the temple styles into *Nāgara, Drāviḍa* and *Vesara* features had taken place in the Tamil country by about the late 9th century A.D. and not much earlier, although the earlier forms created in monolithic and structural temples of the Pallavas early- and later-, had a predilection for the square body, and variegated but distinctive *alpa-vimānas* cut in the round, of the kūṭa, śālā and *gajaprishṭha* type; and had no special bias for a purely square sectioned *nāgara* form, as is also side by side patronised in the more northern Chalukyan kingdom of the Deccan. This preference for a square body as well as *śikhara* is however reflected in most of the early Pandyan small, all-stone structural temples datable to the 9th century A.D. as at Enadi, Visalur Kaliyapatti, etc., and suggests Chalukyan influence which was clearly there. This again revolves round the cardinal fact that the threefold form of temples was a purely indigenous evolution, propounded at one and the same place, and in quite a few nuclear zones at the same time. They do not have any geographical compartmentalisation on stylistic origins. Nonetheless, it admits of a scope to postulate that in the further southern regions of the peninsula, south of the Pennar river, particularly, in the three Tamil kingdoms and their environs, the *rekhā* type of *Nāgara* form was completely ignored, despite its contemporaneous growth further

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north in the Deccan, and the style evolved in these Tamil regions was something which harmonised all the known empirical types of *vimānas* like the square, rectangular, apsidal, octagonal, circular and elliptical in the various parts of a temple — square in *kutas*, rectangle in *śālās*, apsidal in *gajaprishṭha-nāsikās*, octagonal and circular and elliptical in the *grīvas* and *śikharas*. Since all these took place, individually or collectively, only by the 9th century, we are inclined to believe that the diversification of these forms, for applied ritual use in temple, materialised also by that time. Between 675 A.D. and 900 A.D., octagonal and square *śikharas* were predominant and only in the 9th century. A.D., we have circular, octagonal and square *śikharas* used at one and the same place in a temple complex, as in Kodumbalur, Kilappaluvur temples in Tamilnad and at Kambadahalli, Mysore State. Thus, in one way and another, the threefold variation of *śikhara* form received ritual recognition, coevally only by about the 9th century A.D., which is most plausibly the date of quite a few of the earlier groups of Śilpa texts like *Kamikagama* and *Isanasivagurudevapaddhati*. *Vaikhanasagama* which could be earlier does not deal all the three forms, while *Mayamata* which is next only to *Vaikhanasagama* in age, deals extensively, in its *Linga* chapter, with the unity of conception of these three forms. Even these *Linga pīṭhas* are usually square in all the earlier forms, and octagonal subsequently and the circular *lingapītas* are the latest in the series. The first example of the last in rock-cut form could not be placed earlier than the end of the 8th century A.D.

Co-eval variations in Southern temple styles:

The coeval evolution of the temple styles in the Deccan and south is also well brought out by the comparisons of the relevant structural forms in the Chalukyan and Pallava zones. At Badami and Mahakutesvar we have three different temple shapes adumbrated. The first has a superstructure which shows the recession of storeyed *hāras* of *kūṭas*, *śālās* etc. until the *śikhara* is reached, which itself is having an attached *karnakūṭa* at the four diagonal corners. This is typified by the Makutesvara temple at Mahakut and Malegitti Sivalaya at Badami.

The second is where we have the *talas* of the superstructure which are entirely devoid of *hāras* and *alindas* — although the

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temple is a *sāndhāra prāsāda* but where the *prastara* of each *tala* shows above the *kapota*, horizontal courses schematically representing the plinth (*adhishṭhāna*), wall (*pāda*) and entablatures (*prastara*) in a compressed form, before the next *tala* starts. These abbreviated parts usually are kept successively recessed within the general outline of the respective lower *talas* and, together with the absence of the *hāras* of *kūṭas* and *śālās*, they produce a peculiarly unconventional skyline when compared with the normal South Indian temples of a contemporary period. This is typified by the Upper Sivalaya at Badami. This Upper Sivalaya temple is seemingly the arche-type for the Early Eastern Chalukyan sub-style as at Biccavolu etc., and, with its square tower and without the *hāra* of *kūṭas*, *śālās* etc. on the *alpa-vimānas* of the body part, can stake a claim to be termed as of the *Nāgara* class.

The third type is characterised by the lower Sivalaya at Badami which has a plain *garbhagriha* exterior wall with only pilasters dividing the wall spaces, with a very prominent projecting corridor roof in place of *kapota* or cornice, all around the shrine, except in the front where perhaps an axial *mandapa* was laid. The special feature of this type is the fact that the main body of each *tala* is quite high, particularly in the case of the two lowermost *talas* which are almost of equal dimensions, while the third is slightly shorter than the second. (*Kaśyapaśilpa's talacchanda* appears to be corroborative of such a type). The effect is thus to show the temple as fairly high despite the limited *tala* division of such a *jāti-vimāna*, not exceeding four *talas*. Such a *talacchanda* is also found employed in regular *Drāviḍa vimānas* with *hāras* of *kūṭa*, *śālā*, etc. as in the case of Sangamesvara temple at Pattadakkal. The main arche type of this scheme appears to be without the *hāra*, and with a straight and substantial cornice course and *nirandhāra* shrine lay-out. The *śikhara* could be either octagonal or square, but never generally circular. This type is extensively adopted at Pattadakkal in the Jain temple outside the village, in the Jain temple at Lakkundi of the early mediaeval times, in the Chandraprabha temple at Tirupparuttikunram or Jina Kanchi near Kanchipuram in the late Pallava period. It is very clear that it is this *talacchanda* that had, further, been employed in the Koranganatha temple at Srinivasanallur in early Chola times and

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in the Ganga temple at Narasamangala in South Mysore, both of the 10th century A.D.

We thus note that even at one and the same place like Badami we have in the structural temples — all not later than the mid 7th century A.D. at the latest — a triple variation of forms of lay-out, elevation and *anukāyas* or *angas*, thus reinforcing considerably our main plea that the development of formal norms in early structural architecture had, very largely, reached considerable maturity by the 7th century A.D. in the Deccan and the south, with the consolidation and ritual subversion of the shrine structure and auxiliary parts alone receiving their due measure of attention in the succeeding century or two, reaching the fullness of its evolution by the end of the 10th century A.D.

Rekhā prāsāda:

This is the pith of the story, in so far as the *vimāna* types are concerned. The *rekhā prāsādas* which also abounded in the early Chalukyan period in the Karnataka and Andhra country, as at Aiholi, Mahakutesvar, Pattadakkal, Satyavolu, Mahanandi and Alampur are, however, a class by themselves, and despite their patent individuality, do conform to typical Chalukyan idioms, and have a just claim to be treated as a southern group, different from any of the comparable *milieu* in Western, Northern or Eastern India. Hybrids of both the *rekhā* and the southern *jāti vimāna* styles are also notable sometimes, as in Tarakabrahma at Alampur, Kasivisvesvara and Papanatha at Pattadakkal. The outstanding feature of these *rekhā prāsādas* is that they are invariably of identical proportions, excepting where the *venukośa* itself has been laid on the basis of *triguna* or *chaturguna sūtras*, making the creation squattish or slender, as the case may be. This apart, they show the full utilisation of the *mahānāsikā* feature, which in the southern *jāti vimāna* type of this region, and is almost absent, but is stealing its way occasionally, as in the Virupaksha and Mallikārjuna temples at Pattadakkal and the great Kailasa monolith at Ellora. The *nāsikās* in these latter cases, however, form only the *bhadra* projection on the eastern side and show a *śālā vimāna* of the *alpa* class placed front-on, whereas the true *Mahānāsikās* or *śukanāsas* in the *Rekhā śikhara* shrines are far wider and encompass the best part of the frontal width of the *śikhara*, at least in its lowest

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bhūmi, and in their axial extent are either equal to or half of or two thirds of the width of the square *garbhagriha* exterior dimensions, in the more early specimens. The eastern Chalukyans had not utilised this element owing, perhaps, to their nearness to influence from Tamil country where *śukanāsa* is absent throughout.

Proportionate measurements:

The most significant aspect of the *Śilpa* texts is their flexible range of proportionate measurements of the different parts of a temple. In this we must assume that there is a conscious attempt on their part to provide for the architectural structures already erected by the time each of these texts came to be codified, and this also partially explains why there is an evolutionary character implicit among the *Śilpa* texts of successive periods, from the earliest to the latest. On the matter which affects the *garbhagriha* dimensions and those of the deity inside, be it *linga* on a *pīṭha* or a figure sculpture, there is considerable conservatism, and the rules continue to be adhered to rather rigidly over the centuries. This is the reason why even in the proto-*agamic* period we have a fairly consistent relative proportion of the cella wall thickness, its width, the *dvāra* or door-width of the cella and in the case of a *linga* its own *pīṭha* height and width and the height of the *linga* shaft. It would not be out of place to note here that the door frame of the cella is of the same situation as the *bhadra* projections on the three cardinal directions and side walls on either side of the door frame would correspond to the *karnakūṭas* and the recesses, added together, the *karnakūṭas* themselves being invariably equivalent to the thickness of the wall of the cella. In most of the temples these parts are shown on either side of the door frame of the main entrance of the *vīmāna* proper. It is, nevertheless, a fact that although normally the cella is expected to be a cubical chamber, the operative measurement is that of its basal tranverse width which bears a relationship to the objects of worship seated on a pedestal in the centre of the cella floor. Similarly the disposition of the *vārimarga*, despite certain basic variations in the early formative periods has had a consistent orientation and is generally kept to the north of the main deity in the cella. Thus, the main *vimāna* shrine has been preserving the pristine features of its lay-out fairly purely from about 8th century A.D.

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History of Karmantapura—116

BY

DR. (MRS.) SHOBHANA GOKHALE, *Poona*

Recently, Dr. D. C. Sircar while editing the Ekallahāra[1] grant of Trilochanapāla dated Śaka 972 left out the identification of the places mentioned in it. The grant records the gift village Ekallahāra situated in the Karmāntapura-116. Dr. H. D. Sankalia[2] who has studied place-names of Gujarat, kindly brought this to my notice and encouraged me to identify the places mentioned therein. The mention of the territorial unit Karmāntapura-116 in the Surat plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Chief Dhruva[3] III induced me to trace the historicity of Karmāntapura-116. The available evidences of this unit differ widely in different grants which cover a period of nearly three hundred years.

The earliest reference to this administrative unit occurs not as Karmāntapura-116, but as Kamanīyaṣoḍaśatabhukti in the Umeta plates,[4] donated by the Gurjara King Dadda II dated Ś. 400. The donated village Niguḍa is situated in the Kamaṇīyaṣoḍaśatabhukti, the boundaries of which are: to the east the village Phalahavadra, to the west the village Vihāṇa, to the north the village Dahithali.

Bühler identified the places as follows:

Niguḍa with modern Nagoḍ, 1½ miles to the east of Vihāṇa. Vihāṇa with Vihana, Dahithali with Dethali, 1¼ miles to the north of Nagod. He further identified Vaghauri as Rudhawara. He considered it not improbable that this name might be a mistake for Vāghvārā caused by the resemblance of the syllables *'rudh'* and *'Vagh'* if written with Gujarati characters. This village may

1. *Ep. Ind.* XXVI. 15.
2. Sankalia, H. D., *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat.*
3. *9.A*, XII. 181.
4. *Op.cit.*, VII. 61.

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be identified with Waghecha Kadod, 2¾ miles to the east of Nagod. The Umeta grant is dated in the year 400 of the Śaka era. The genuineness of the grant had been disputed by Bhagawanlal and Fleet as it differed from the other grants of the Gurjaras. Dr. Sankalia[5] supported this view and added some new points to this theory. He stamped the Umeta, Bagumra and Ilao Plates as forged grants on the basis of non-mention of the religion of the Gurjara Kings, contemporary events and ignorance about the Gurjara inscriptions, etc. The grant with which the Umeta grant is identical throughout is the Valabhi grant of Dharasena[6] II which was already regarded as a spurious grant by Bhau Daji and Bühler. Bühler took Umeta grant to be genuine. According to Bhagawanlal, the record was dated in the Traikūṭaka era, the beginning of which falls in 245 A.D. This again was refuted by Cunningham. He stated that it might be the Kalachuri era.

Leaving aside the question of the date of the Umeta Plates, we can safely push the antiquity of Kamanīyaṣoḍaśatabhukti to the 7th century as the record is written in the Gurjara characters of this period.

The Valabhi grant of Dharasena II which has been considered as a forged grant refers to Kantāragrāmaṣoḍaśataviṣaya. Kantāragrāma is identified with modern Katargam but the other villages in this unit cannot be identified and therefore it does not help us in determining the ancient boundaries of Karmāntapura-116. Dr. Altekar[7] viewed Kantāragrāma and Karmāntapura as identical and identified both the places with modern Katargam which is two miles to the north-east of Surat.

A copper-plate grant from Surat, records that on the full moon day of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the K. 443, corresponding to the 3rd August A.D. 692, the Yuvarāja Śrayāśraya Śilāditya, son of Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁhavarman who was the younger brother of Vikramāditya I, while encamped at Kusumeśvara near Kārmaṇeya, granted to a Brāhmaṇa, a field in the village of Osumbhalā, on the west of Alūraka in the Kārmaṇeyāhāra viṣaya. Bühler

5. *JBBRAS*, N.S. Vol. XIII. 22.
6. *9.A.*, X. 277.
7. Altekar, A.S., *I.A.*, LIV. 17.

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identified Kārmaṇeya with Kamrej and Osumbhalā with Umbhel or Umbher and Alūraka with Alura.[8]

A copper-plate[9] grant from Navasari dated on the full-moon day of the month Kārtika of the Kalachuri year 490, corresponding to the 22nd October A.D. 739 records that the Rājā Pulkeśin I (Chālukya) granted to a Brāhmaṇa, a village named Padraka in the Kārmaṇeyāhāra viṣaya. It may be identified with Pardi.

The administrative unit Karmāntapura-116 first occurs in the grant of Dhruva[10] III dated in Ś. 789, corresponding to the 6th June 867 A.D. The object of the grant is to convey the village of Pārāhaṇaka which belongs to the 116 villages connected with Karmāntapura, to a Brāhmaṇa called Jojibhā, a member of the Lakṣāyaṇa Gotra and a student of Yajurveda. Its boundaries: to the east the village called Kuṇḍīravallikā, to the south, the village called Khaurachchaka belonging to the Trennāhara, likewise to the south the village called Joṇandhā, to the west the Brāhmaṇa settlement, named Mottaka, to the north the village called Moïvāsaka. Bühler[11] identified all the villages except Kundīravallikā and Joṇandhā. Mottaka is Mota, the home of the Motāḷā Brāhmaṇas. It is 16 miles to the east of Surat. Pārāhaṇaka is Parona, two miles to the east of Mota. Moïvāsaka is Movāchehi, two miles to the north of Parona. Khaurāchchaka is Kharwasa half-a-mile to the south of Parona. Trennāhara is identified with modern Ten. Kundīravallika may be identified with Kantali which is five miles to the east of Parona. Joṇandhā cannot be traced.

Karmāntapura-116 is again mentioned in the Ekallahāra grant donated by the Lāṭa Chaulukya Chief Trilochanapāla. The record was issued on Pauṣa sudi, Monday on Makara-Saṅkrānti. The date corresponds to the 24th December 1050 A.D. The donated village was Ekallahāra, situated in Karmāntapura-116. It was bounded in the east by the localities called Nikusāḍhi and Vihāṇaka, in the south by Kurunālā and in the north by Dadhisthāna, in the north-west by Kuṇḍalikā. Ekallahāra should be modern Eklera. Nikusāḍhi and Vihāṇaka may be respectively identified with Nagod

8. *Vienna, Or. Congress*, Asian Section, p. 225.
9. *Op.cit.*, p. 230.
10. *9.A.*, XII. 181.
11. *I.A.*, XVI. 100.

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and Vihan which occur in the Umeta Plates also. Dadhisthāna may be Dewadh which is four miles to the north of Eklera. The occurrence of the suffix nālā in the name Kurunālā made Dr. Sircar to suggest that nālā in the name probably may be a canal. This suggestion helps us to identify Kurunālā with Khari tank which is three miles to the south of Eklera. The mention of the suffix 'Sāḍhi' in Nikusāḍhi reminds us of the place-name Aṁvalasāḍhi in the Chaulukya record which is already noted by Dr. Sankalia.[12]

The Surat Plates[13] were issued about three weeks after the Ekallāhāra grant by the same Chaulukya Chief. The King Trilochanapāla, going to the shores of the sacred place Agastyatīrtha gave to Mādhava, a Bhāragava of the Gotra Kuśika, a village Erathāna-900 in the sub-district-42 which was in Dhilliśvarapathaka. To the east of it, was the village of Nagambā and Tantika,; south-east Vaṭapadraka; south Liṅgavaṭa, Śiva; south-west Indotthāna; west Bahuṇadāśava; north-west Ṭembaruka; north Talapadraka, north-east Kuruṇagrāma. The identifications of the villages, given by Dhruva, do not agree well with the directions given in the grant. He identified the places in the Olpad Taluka but actually they are situated in the Chorasi Taluka; Erathāna is modern Erathan in the Chorasi Taluka. Vahuṇanda is Bonad two miles to the west of Erathan. Ṭembaruka is Timburwa, one mile to the north-west of Erathan. Indothāna may be Vākthan, two miles to the south-east of Erathan. Liṅgavaṭa is Lingad, two miles to the south of Erathan. Śiva is Simalaka, four miles to the south of Lingad. Tantikā is Tatijagra to the east of Erathan. Kuruṇagrāma is Karan, 1½ miles to the north-east of Erathan. Vaṭapadraka is Varadala, half a mile to the south-east of Erathan. Talapadraka is certainly Talodra, 1½ miles to the north of Erathan. Nāgaṁbā cannot be identified.

From the above discussion it seems that the administrative unit Kamaṇīyaṣoḍaśatabhukti, first mentioned in Gurjara plates comprised the northern portion of Surat district. The administrative unit Kārmaṇeyahāra in the Chālukya grant was located in

12. Sankalia, H.D., Op.cit.
13. *I.A.*, XII. 202.

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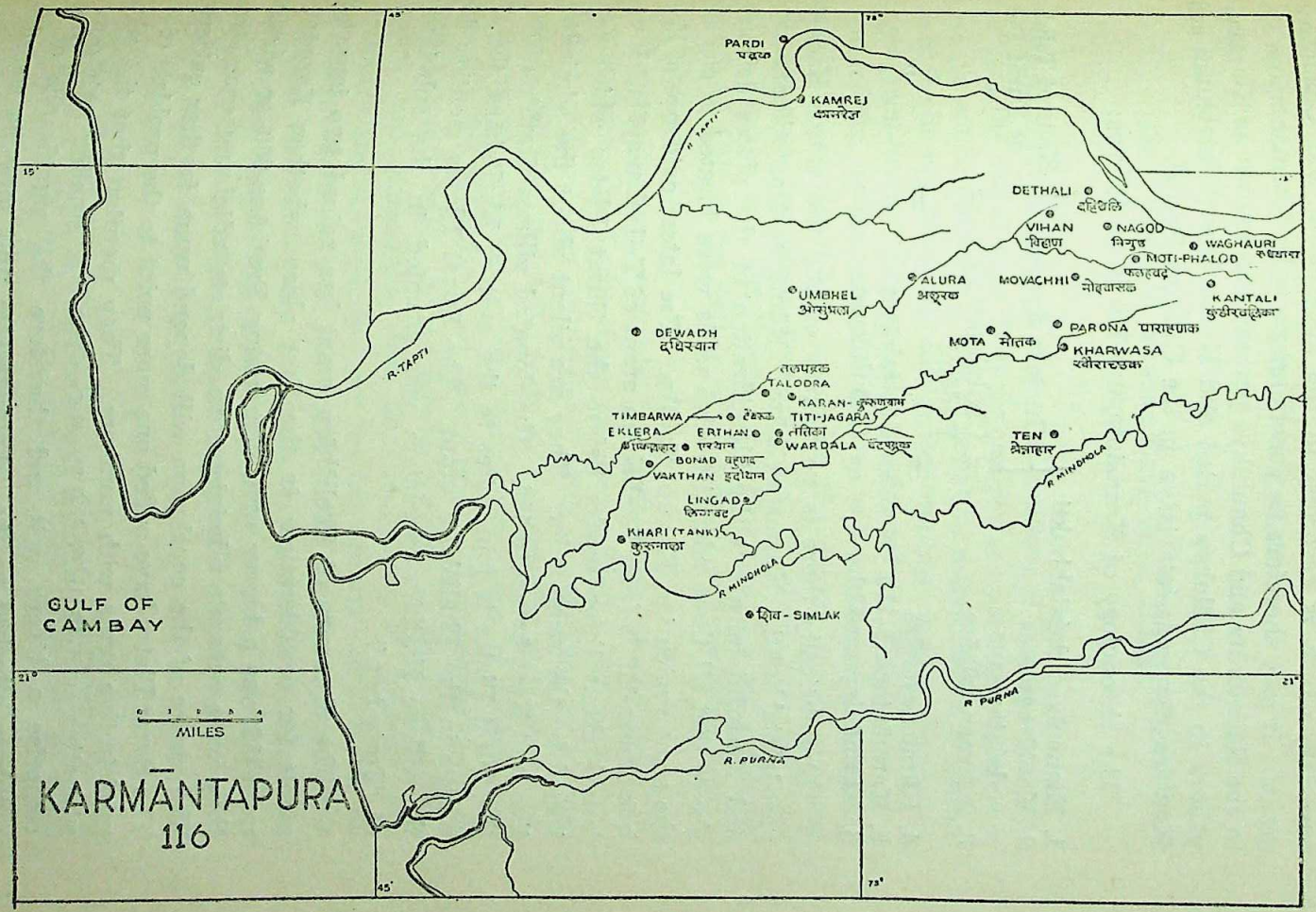

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the same region. This very area represents ancient Karmāntapura-116, which is recorded in the Rāṣṭrakūta and Chaulukya grants. It may therefore be concluded that the Karmāntapura-116 in the Rāṣṭrakūta and Chaulukya periods was known as Kārmaṇeyāhāra in the Chālukya period and Kamaṇīyaṣoḍaśatabhukti and Kantāragrāmaṣoḍa-śataviṣaya in the Gurjara Period.

The chronology of Karmāntapura-116 is as follows:

1. Kamanīyaṣoḍaśatabhukti 2. Kantāragrāma-ṣoḍaśatavisava,	}	Gurjara dynasty	{	Kamrej Taluka of Surat Dist.
3. Kārmaṇeyāhāra	=	Chālukyas of Badāmi	=	,,
4. Kārmaṇeyāhāra	=	,,	=	,,
5. Karmāntapura-116	=	Rāṣṭrakūṭas	=	,,
6. Karmāntapura-116	=	Chāulukyas	=	,,

Linguistically there is no affinity among the words Kamaṇīyaṣoḍaśatabhukti, Kārmaṇeyāhāra, Kāntāragrāmaṣoḍaśataviṣaya and Karmāntapura but the identification of the places definitely shows that all these administrative units were located in one and the same region i.e., Kamrej Taluka. The latest evidence of Karmāntapura-116 is from Ekallahāra grant of Trilochanapāla. It was issued about three weeks before the Surat Plates which were issued by the same ruler. They are silent about the administrative unit Karmāntapura-116. The donated village Erathāna-900 in the Surat Plates is four miles to the east of Ekallahāra, the gift village in the Ekallāhāra grant. The Surat Plates mention that the village Erathānanavaśatam was situated in the sub-district of "Forty-two."

The discovery of Ekallāhāra grant has raised two important points for consideration; in the first place, whether Karmāntapura-116 was a bigger unit, comprising Erathāna-900 or whether they were separate administrative districts adjoining each other. The choice of the conclusion will depend upon further evidence. The Surat Plates have added one more point to the problem of administrative units with numbers. They mention that the administrative unit-42 included Erathāna-900. A smaller unit cannot comprise a bigger unit and therefore the significance of the numbers attached to the administrative unit may be something else than the amount of revenue or the number of villages.

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Vamana Trivikrama

BY

DR. (MRS.) V. YASODA DEVI, M.A., D.LITT.

I

Vāmana Trivikrama, of all the incarnations of Vishṇu, is unique signifying the conquest of Titan demon power by the tiny man who filled the entire universe. This incarnation manifests the culmination of the human form, the earlier incarnations marking the earlier stages—semi-human beings. As proclaimed by Krishṇa in the Bhagavadgīta, he incarnates to destroy evil and establish Dharma, whenever essential; it was to subdue the mighty demon emperor Bali who even conquered Indralōka that Vishṇu incarnated himself as Vāmana and Trivikrama and dissolved it after confining the rule of Bali to the nether world Sutala, and restoring heaven to Indra.

Human emotions towards the gods have poured down in literature from the Vedic times and exemplified in art even from the days of the Indus civilization. With the building of temples from the 4th Century A.D., texts on iconography were composed. Subsequently, temples for the ten incarnations of Vishṇu and separately for individual gods were raised. Temples dedicated to Vāmana and Trivikrama are not so common as those for Rāma, Krishṇa and Narasimha; but fine sculptures of Vāmana and Trivikrama are not a rarity from the 5th century onwards till the late Vijayanagara days in the entire India. Trivikramadvādaśi[1] is an annual festival in the Vaishṇavaite temples in South India. The common comparison of anything small growing big in a short compass of time to Vāmana manifesting as Trivikrama attests the popular belief in His omnipotence.

II

Vishṇu bears the epithets Uṛukrama and Trivikrama in the Vēdas and is said to have covered the entire universe in three

1. Also known as Kūrmadvādaśi — falls on Pusya Śuddha Dvādaśi.

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steps. According to Sākapūṅi, a Vedic commentator, Vishṇu manifested himself in the threefold form of fire on the earth, light in the mid region of atmosphere and solar light in the sky. According to Aurṇavābha, another commentator, the three steps indicate the positions of Sun at his rising, culmination and setting. The Vēdas, the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, and the Mahābhārata include Vishṇu among the Ādityas. In the later period of the Purāṇas, Vishṇu was to be elevated to be included in the Trinity.

The *Daśāvatāras* are the most popular incarnations of Vishṇu. Vāmana Trivikrama is the fifth of the ten incarnations and manifested itself in the Trētāyuga. And it is the fifteenth among the twenty-four incarnations of Vishṇu.[2] The Purāṇic story in relation to Trivikrama is thus[3]: Bali, the emperor of the Asuras, the son of Virōchana and grandson of Prahlāda acquired strength by religious penances, thereby vanquished the gods and drove Indra out of his kingdom. Grieved at her son's fate, Aditi prayed to Vishṇu for restitution of her son in his kingdom. Consequently Vishṇu was born to Aditi and while yet a boy proceeded to the sacrifice of Bali and begged him for a petty gift of three feet of land. Despite the warning of Śukrāchārya to the contrary, Bali promised the gift of the three paces of space and confirmed it by the ceremonial pouring of water. At once Vāmana transformed himself as Trivikrama, occupied *bhūlōka* by one pace and *antarikshalōka* by the second, and at the request of Bali himself, placed his third pace on his head and by its pressure sent him to Sutala, the sixth of the lower worlds to reign there in peace.[4] He restored to Indra the conquered regions from Bali, to the supreme satisfaction of all the celestials.

III

Regarding the representation of Vāmana and Trivikrama in iconography and sculpture, the Sanskrit texts differ in details. The *Vaikhānasa Āgama* has it that Vāmana should be depicted with

2. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* — Book VIII, Chapters 18, 19, 20 and 21.

3. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Vishṇupurāṇa* mention all the incarnations, *Vāmana purāṇa* and *Harivamśa* particularly speak of Trivikrama.

4. Extremely impressed with the nobility and firmness of Bali, Vishṇu is still supposed to be guarding as his servant the palace of Bali in the nether world.

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two hands with a *kamaṇḍala* and umbrella in them, tuft on the head, *upavīta, yajñopavīta, udarabandha, kaupīna, pavitra*[5] and a book[6] and as an intelligent youth. Some texts[7] say that he should be shown as a deformed dwarf with hunch-back, protruding joints of bones and a big belly, staff in hand and Krishṇājina on his back.

Trivikrama, according to the *Vaikhānasa Āgama* may be represented in three ways; with the left foot raised upto the level of the right knee; to the navel; or to the forehead and the right foot firmly planted on the earth.[8] He may possess either four hands or eight hands. In the former case, he wears *śankha* and *chakra* in the back two hands respectively in the reverse way. Of the front two hands, the right should be shown with palm upwards and the left, stretched out parallel to the uplifted left leg or it may be in *abhaya* or *varada* pose. In the case of the image with eight hands, *śankha, chakra, gada, sarṅga* (bow) and *hala* should be shown in five hands and the other three as in the case of the image with four hands. The deity wears red clothes and usual ornaments. The *Vishṇudharmōttara* prescribes Trivikrama's face upraised with large eyes or half face shown with a wide open eye; and he should hold in his hands finely depicted *danḍa, pāśa, śankha, chakra, gada* and *padma*. Differing from these two texts, *Śilpa-ratna* requires Trivikrama to stand on the left leg and stretch the right leg for measuring strides. Besides, Trivikrama in relation to the twenty-four incarnations of Vishṇu,[9] all standing and with four hands, should have *gada* and *padma* in the right and *chakra* and *śankha* in the left hands.

The *Vaikhānasa Āgama* has it that behind Trivikrama should be depicted the *Kalpaka* tree and Indra holding the umbrella on the deity's head, while Varuṇa and Vāyu wave *chauris* on either side. Above them on the right and the left Sun and Moon and close to them Sanyāsa, Sanaka and Sanatkumāra should be shown. Brahma holds the god's uplifted foot with one hand and washes

5. Ring of sacred kuśa grass on the third finger.
6. All these were signs of a Brahmachārin; *Pancharātrāgama* agrees with this.
7. Hēmādri.
8. Implying Trivikrama striding over the earth, the midworld and the heaven respectively.
9. Chaturvimśatimūrtayah. H. K. Śastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goodesses*, p. 55.

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it with water from *kamaṇḍala* held in his other hand and the flowing water should be depicted white. Śiva with hands in *anjali* sits in space above the height of the navel of Trivikrama. Near the left leg of the god should be shown Namūchi, a descendant of Bali, in reverence. On the left Garuḍa belabours Śukrāchārya for preventing Bali from making the gift. On the right Vāmana should be depicted with umbrella, with one hand ready to receive the gift. Near and opposite to him should stand Bali, golden in complexion, with ornaments, carrying a golden vessel to pour water, and behind him stands his queen. Above Trivikrama's head Jāmbavān should be shown with his drum, an indication of exhilaration of the celestials over their deliverance from Bali's rule. The *Varāhapurāna*[10] has it that when Trivikrama's foot was lifted up to measure the heaven, Brahmāṇḍa burst and cosmic water flowed down through its clefts.

IV

The incarnation of Vāmana among the Daśāvatāras is depicted both in iconography and sculpture as a youth with beaming intelligence, with umbrella and *kamaṇḍala* in hands and not as a dwarf e.g., in the Daśāvatāra cave temple of the Gupta period at Deogarh;[11] in the Virūpāksha temple at Paṭṭadakal;[12] in the Mallikārjuna or Trailokyamallēśvara temple at Paṭṭadakal;[13] at the top of the image of Nārāyaṇasvāmi in the Kaṭṭēśvara temple[14] in Hirahaḍagalli; in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Nīlgunḍa;[15] in the Kōnṭguḍi temple at Aihole;[16] in the temple in the field to the south of Aihole; among the Daśāvatāras on a rock behind the Bhūtanātha temples[17] at Bādami; all these are specimens of the Early Chalukyan art. The sculpture of Vāmana in the Daśāvatāra cave temple at Ellora[18] represents Rāshṭrakūṭa art. The sculptures among the ten incarnations on the *prabha* of the image of Vijayanārāyaṇa at

10. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography I*— I, p. 168.
11. H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia* (1955), p. 406.
12. H. Cousens, *The Chalukyan Architecture*, p. 64.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
14. A Rea, *Chalukyan Architecture* (1896), p. 16, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 1.
15. Harpanahalli Tq. A. Rea, *Chalukyan Architecture*, Pl. LI.
16. H. Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture*, p. 35.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
18. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography I* — I, Pl. LI.

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Belur,[19] and on a pillar in the central hall in the Kēśava temple and the *prabha* of Janārdana at Sōmanāthapur[20] are in typical Hoysala style. Vāmana is depicted top-most on the left among the Avatāras[21] on the ornate arch of a Pāla image of Vishṇu. Vāmana among the Daśāvatāras[22] sculptured on a boulder behind the Elephant Stables at Hampi represents Vijayanagara art. Vāmana with the umbrella and a water vessel confronting Bali and his queen is shown among the incarnations of Vishṇu in "Rajput style" on a pendant[23] of the 16th Century A.D. Among the Daśāvatāras in ivory from Trivandrum[24] Vāmana is depicted as an intelligent youth in accordance with the *Vaikhānasa Āgama.* He is adorned with a pearl string above forehead, *makarakuṇḍalas,* pearl necklace with a pendant, *yajñōpavīta,* an armlet and two bracelets on each hand, a girdle and anklets. He appears handsome and bright and not as a dwarf. Usually in the Daśāvatāras, Vāmana is shown in conjunction with Bali, ever prepared to pour into his hand the libation of water confirming his gift.

Though not in the Daśāvatāras, in depicting the complete manifestation of Vāmana as Trivikrama, Vāmana is shown as a dwarf, in contrast with Trivikrama and Bali, e.g., in the Trivikrama panel in the cave temple at Bādāmi,[25] a repository of the Chāḷukya art, Vāmana is shown on the left side, facing the left with an umbrella in the left hand and the right stretched to receive the gift. In this case the *kamaṇḍala,* as prescribed in the texts is not found; also in the large sculpture of the theme at Bādāmi.[26] In a fine panel in the Anantaśāyi temple in the Uṇḍavalli caves[27] a monument of Vishṇukuṇḍin art, Vāmana is depicted as asking Bali for alms, in Durbar. In the Pallava sculpture in the Kailāsanātha Temple at Kānchīpuram,[28] Vāmana on the left side of

19. R. Narasimhachar, *The Kēśava Temple at Belur,* pp. 4, 10.
20. *Ibid.,* Somanāthapur, p. 4.
21. H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia,* p. 16, Pl. 388.
22. A. K. Balasundaram, *Relics of Vijayanagar Glory* (1948), p. 131.
23. H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia,* p. 19.
24. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography I*—I, Pl. XXXV.
25. *Ibid.,* I — I, Pl. L.
26. H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia,* Pl. 125, Cave III.
27. Cave I — Storey II, Vishṇukuṇḍin coins (1963), Dr. M. Rama Rao, p. 21.
28. A. Rea, *Pallava Architecture,* Pl. CXXIII, Fig. 7.

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the deity has *chhatra* in his right hand, instead of in the left hand which, as prescribed in the texts, is more common. He wears *yajñōpavīta* and *pūrṇōruka* and not *kaupīna* (loin cloth) in accordance with the texts. The figure of Vāmana in the Trivikrama sculpture at Ellora on the left side is wholly mutilated. These Chāḷukya, Vishṇukuṇḍin, Pallava and Rāshṭrakūṭa sculptures deviate from the Śilpa texts requiring Vāmana to be on the right side of Trivikrama. In the Paṭṭadakal[29] image of Trivikrama, Vāmana is depicted, following the texts, on the right side of the deity. In a panel at Taibur,[30] Vāmana is shown as a smiling youth and not a dwarf; standing in *dvibhanga*, he wears a turban, a pair of *kuṇḍalas*, and a *kaupīna* and has an umbrella in the right hand while his left hand is resting on the left knee. In a sculpture of Trivikrama from Chatsu[31] on the left of the God, Vāmana is shown begging for a gift from Bali. In the sculpture in the temple at Namakkal[32] Vāmana is depicted as a dwarf with long earlobes. His right hand is stretched to receive alms while with the left he holds the umbrella. He wears a *Krishṇājina*, an upper cloth and *pūrṇōruka*, and not *kaupīna* as prescribed by the texts. In a sculpture in the Gōvindarājasvāmi temple at Tirupati, Vāmana is shown on the right side of Trivikrama with an umbrella in the left hand and the right hand stretched. A similar figure is in a shrine within the temple precincts. In this case Vāmana is depicted as a dwarf with a big belly. He is adorned with *makarakuṇḍalas*, two *greiveyakas*, *yajñōpavīta*, two armlets and two bracelets on each hand and *pūrṇōruka* instead of the prescribed loin cloth. In a car panel of the 17th century,[33] on both sides of Trivikrama is pictured Vāmana with an umbrella in the left hand and he reaches in height upto the level of the waist of Bali.

V

The earliest sculpture of Trivikrama is in the Deogarh temple. The image in the Bādāmi cave[34] temple has eight hands and

29. H. Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture*, Pl. XLVII.
30. H. D. Sankalia, *The Archaeology in Gujarat*, Pl. XXXV.
31. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* I — I, Pl. LII, Fig. 1.
32. H. K. Śāstri, *S. I. Images of God and Goddesses*, p. 34, fig. 22.
33. G. J. Dubreuil, *Iconography of Southern India* (1937), Pl. XLVIII.
34. Cave II, *Ibid.*, Pl. XLIX.

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stands firmly on the right leg with the left leg raised above the navel in measuring the heaven. In his hands on the right, Trivikrama holds a *chakra* in *prayōg* position, an arrow, a gada and a sword in the descending order, and on the left, the upper has a conch, the second is outstretched pointing to a round grinning face, the third has a shield and the fourth a bow. In this arrangement, the sculptor had not followed either the *Vaikhānasa Āgama* or the *Vishṇudharmōttara* completely. The arrow, the sword and the shield are not prescribed in either of them. The deity wears *Kirīṭamakuṭa, patrakuṇḍala* in the right ear, and *chakrakuṇḍala* in the left ear, four *greivēyakas, yajñōpavīta,* one thick armlet and two bracelets on each hand, a girdle, anklets and a garland reaching the knee. On his left is Vāmana and before him stands his queen. Bali has no crown as he is engaged in the performance of the sacrifice. Four persons, probably his attendants, are standing behind him. To the right of Trivikrama is Namūchi holding his leg in prayer. Behind him to the right is another figure with a staff in the right hand and the left pointing to Trivikrama. Above the outstretched arm of Trivikrama are two small figures, probably celestials; near the one on the left is the crescent moon. Close to the left leg of Trivikrama is a Rākshasa carrying a sword in the right hand and a shield in the left hand, hanging down. At the foot of the entire sculpture are groups of celestials playing various musical instruments expressing their joy over the victory of the gods over the demons; at the top of the panel is Jāmbavān beating a drum to signify similar sentiments. This fine sculpture of the mid-sixth century A.D. is "of very creditable workmanship and agreeable to its synthesis and almost perfect in modelling."[35] Though all items according to the *Vaikhānasa Āgama* are not depicted in this sculpture it belongs to the *uttama* class among sculptures. The grinning face near the outstretched arm is probably more intended by the sculptor to prevent the casting of an evil eye than as a representation of burst Brahmāṇḍa or Rāhu as has been suggested by earlier writers.[36]

35. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* I — I, p. 173. Pl. L. I — I, p. 168.

36. *I.A.*, VI (1877) p. 354.

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In the large sculpture in the Bādāmi cave,[37] trivikrama is shown in half round face with a large eye obviously in accordance with the *Vishṇudharmōttara*. He has a *chakra*, a sword, a gada and an arrow in the right hands and a conch in the upper left hand; the second left hand is stretched pointing to the grinning face with wide open eyes and a gaping mouth, he has a bow in the third left hand and a shield in the fourth, placed on the thigh. These emblems are the same as in the previous examples though there is some change in the order of arrangement. The deity's left leg is raised above the level of the navel. The deity is depicted with a jewelled *Kiriṭamakuṭa, kuṇḍalas, bhujakīrtis*, armlets, bracelets, three *greivēyakas*, one being of pearls, and a girdle with pearl hangings and full drapery. Beneath Trivikrama's raised foot is shown a half figure adorned with a *Kirīṭa* and three pearl necklaces and with a *pāśa* in the left hand; another person wearing a crown, with a sword and a shield in his hands, is falling horizontally with his leg touching the bow of the God. Just below him are represented standing three persons — Bali with a beard and with a *kamaṇḍala* in one hand; Śukra holding with both his hands the left arm of Bali to dissuade him from making the gift; and a lady with *kēśabandha*, two necklaces, one *hāra*, a girdle with pearl tassels, anklets and *pūrṇōruka*. The lady is depicted in *tribhanga* posture, with left hand placed on the waist and with the legs crossed. On the right side of the deity are shown some sculptures. Above is shown Jāmbavān with his drum. Below on the right is Garuḍa holding the thigh of the deity. This sculpture, as the previous one, belongs to the *uttama* category. In the panel in the Anantaśāyi Temple at Uṇḍavilli,[38] Trivikrama's delineation is vigorous and Śukra is shown nearby looking on in despair.

In the huge panel of Trivikrama in the Ādivarāha cave[39] with characteristic Pallava pillars in Mahābalipuram, the repository of the Pallava art, "the story is dramatically illustrated in this great masterpiece — in a crowded but remarkably balanced composi-

37. Cave III, G. T. Garrat, *The Legacy of India*, Pl. 7; H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Pl. No. 125.

38. 4th pillar, 2nd row, II storey, 1st cave, Bharati, I, II, no. 11, p. 133.

39. A Goswami, *The Art of the Pallavas* (1957), Pl. 13; Stella Kramarische *The Art of India*, p. 206, no. 85; *Ancient India* (1958) no. 14, p. 128, Pl. L.

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tion with the standing figure as the axis and centre of the panel."[40] The deity has eight hands; he supports the heavens with his upper right, and has a sword in the second, a club in the third and a discus in the fourth; he holds a bow, a shield and a conch in the left three hands respectively and the fourth hand is held with palm turned upwards whereas the *Vaikhānasa Āgama* prescribes a right arm to be depicted in that position. The raising of the upper right hand in support of the heavens is unique attesting the ingenuity of the Pallava sculptor and resembling Śiva's right hand raised to receive the Ganga on his head in the sculptures of Gangādharamūrti,[41] the deity's uplifted leg is on a level with the *kirīṭamakuṭa* and the toe of the foot is worshipped by Brahma, depicted with two faces and four hands and seated on a lotus. The deity is adorned with a *kirīṭamakuṭa,* a pair of *chakrakuṇḍalas,* necklaces, a broad and thick *yajñōpavīta,* three *valayas* on each hand, a broad girdle with pearl tassels and *pūrṇōruka*. Of Brahma's hands, one is shown in pose of praise, the front two are saluting and the left lower is hanging down. He wears a *jaṭāmakuṭa* and *kuṇḍalas.* On the right of Trivikrama above the figure of Sun is shown Śiva in his *padmāsana.* The Sun has six hands stretched out in the praise of God. Moon is depicted in similar fashion below the shield of Trivikrama. Triśanku is also sculptured. Jāmbavān with his drum is shown facing Brahma. Namūchi is on the right side of Trivikrama, as well as Bali and his attendants. A person with a staff in the right hand falling down probably represents a Rākshasa hurled up into the air when Vāmana became Trivikrama as narrated in the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, a form that was unique. This piece also falls into the *uttama* class and is more complete than the Chāḷukya specimens.

In the sculpture of Trivikrama opposite to the Varāha incarnation on the rocks near the Shore temple,[42] at Mahābalipuram, the deity has eight hands and the complete story of the incarnation is depicted. Some opine that the bas relief of *Gangāvataraṇa* (or Arjuna's penance) depicts the Durbar of Bali in Pātāḷa, after

40. A. Goswami, *The Art of the Pallavas* (1957) p. 3.
41. *Śrī Venkatēśvara Oriental Journal* IV (1961), p. 53.
42. Anantālwār & A. Rea. *Indian Architecture* (1921), p. 207; H. K. Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses,* p. 32.

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he was trodden down to the nether world by Vāmana as Trivikrama.[43]

Near the Mahēndravarman shrine,[44] in the sculpture of Trivikrama, the deity has eight hands with emblems—a conch, a club, a bow, a sword, and a shield. His left leg is stretched upto the level of the *kirīṭamakuṭa* measuring the hanging head of a snake, reaching down the knee of the right leg, passing through the girdle above entwining the left stretched leg which is rounded by the third left hand with the bow. The deity's fourth left hand is in *abhaya* pose. He wears a *kirīṭamakuṭa*, necklaces, a *hāra* with a pendant, two armlets and two bracelets on each hand, thick *yajñōpavīta, udarabandha,* a girdle with pearl tassels, anklets and *pūrṇōruka.* On the left of the deity are shown Vāmana, Bali's queen and Bali. The queen of Bali wears a *karaṇḍamakuṭa* and a necklace. But is standing with hands raised in salutation. He wears a *kirīṭamakuṭa, greivēyakas,* two armlets and two bracelets on hands, a girdle with pearl hangings, a garland and *pūrṇōruka.* To the right of Trivikrama are seen two persons with frightened looks. They wear *karaṇḍamakuṭas;* the first has one *hāra,* one bracelet on each hand and is standing fully draped while the other person is seated wearing a necklace, his hair hanging in *jaṭas;* Jāmbavan[45] is depicted above the deity. This sculpture also falls into the *uttama* category.

In the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāl Temple, also at Kāñchīpuram, is a sculpture of Trivikrama on the Vimāna.[46] As regards his eight hands, he has a *chakra* in the right upper one, the object in the second is not clear, the third has a sword, and the fourth is in *varada* pose; and on the left, the upper one has a conch, the second is stretched upwards pointing to the sky, the third has a bow, and the fourth is in *abhaya mudra.* His left leg is raised upwards on level with the top of his huge *kirīṭamakuṭa.* The deity wears necklaces, armlets and two bracelets on each hand, a girdle, ank-

43. Anantālwār and A. Rea, *Indian Architecture,* p. 207.
44. Kailāsanātha Temple. A Rea, *Pallava Architecture* (1909), p. 31.
45. H. K. Śāstri opines that it represents Tumburu with drum in hand leading the host of Gods — *South Indian Images,* p. 32 fig. 1.
46. A. Rea, *Pallava Architecture,* Pl. LXXXI, Fig. 2.

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lets and *pūrṇōruka*. Two persons on the right and one on the left of the deity are depicted. This sculpture belongs to the *madhyama* variety.

In the Trivikrama sculpture in the Daśāvatara cave at Ellora,[47] the theme is dealt with in an identical fashion as the one in cave II at Badami. Of his eight hands, the deity has in the right upper one a *chakra*, the object in the second is not clear, in the third he has a mace, and in the fourth a sword; and on the left he has a *śankha* in the upper one and a bow in the second, while the third is stretched pointing to the grinning face and the fourth below the left leg is in *varada* pose. The deity's left leg is raised considerably above the navel. He wears a finely decorated *kirīṭamakuṭa, makarakuṇḍalas,* two broad necklaces, one armlet, and one bracelet on each of the eight hands, a *yajñōpavīta, udarabandha,* a girdle with pearl tassels and *pūrṇōruka*. The grinning face is not found in the Pallava sculptures. In this sculpture the sword is held by Trivikrama in horizontal position instead of the common vertical position and the hand holding the bow is extended forward. On the left of the God are shown Vāmana, Bali and his queen; Bali is pouring water into the hands of Vāmana; Śukra is shown dissuading Bali from making the gift. On the right of the God, Śukra is shown being caught hold of by the hair and belaboured with the fist by Garuḍa for his behaviour. This depiction of Garuḍa and Śukra should be on the left of the God according to the texts, and this, like the position of the sword, is a unique feature not found in the Chāḷukyan and the Pallava sculptures. But as a whole the sculpture is more akin to the Pallava sculptures and is most graceful and delicate, as though dancing in contrast to the stiff earlier Chalukyan examples. It has to be classified under the *uttama* category.

Trivikrama, the *moolavirāṭ* in the temple at Cherayūr[48] possesses eight hands bearing the emblems of conch, mace, lotus, discus, sword and so forth; he stands in *tribhanga* with the right leg firm and the left raised to measure the sky. The *gada* descends on Bali squatting nearby. On the left of the deity are depicted

47. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Pl. LI.
48. Peddacherukūru, *S.I.I.* VI, 202, *The Hindu Supplement*, 8-12-1963.

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Bali and his queen Vijayavalli. The deity's right leg is held by Namūchi in prayer; Jaya and Vijaya, the bodyguards of Vishṇu, are also depicted. Garuḍa is shown above Bali and underneath the raised leg of Trivikrama. This specimen is of Vengi Chalukyan art. There is a miniature sculpture of the entire theme in the temple.

The sculpture of Trivikrama in the Kalyāṇamaṇṭapa[49] in the Tirupati Temple has eight hands, with a *chakra* in the right upper one, a sword in the second, an arrow in the third; the fourth is in *abhaya* pose; while on the left, the upper one has a *śankha*, the second a bow, and third a shield; the fourth is in *varada* pose behind the upraised left leg reaching the level of the *Kirīṭamakuṭa*. The deity wears *makarakuṇḍalas, greivēyakas, yajñōpavīta, udarabandha*, a girdle, anklets and *pūrṇōruka*. In a car panel[50] Trivikrama is depicted with eight hands, with a *chakra* in the upper right one and a sword in the second while the object in the third is not clear and the fourth is in *abhaya* pose; and on the left the first hand is raised pointing to the sky, in the second is a conch while the objects in the third and the fourth are not clear. The left leg is raised upto the level of the treble *kirīṭamakuṭa* of the deity, parallel to the right hand raised to the top of the *kirīṭa* pointing to the sky. The deity has *makarakuṇḍalas, bhujakīrtis*, three armlets, and three bracelets clearly shown on the raised hand, a pearl necklace with a pendant, *hāras, yajñōpavīta, udarabandha*, a girdle with pearl strings, three anklets, a garland hanging down the knees, and *pūrṇōruka*. On the top of the raised foot, Brahma is shown with four faces and four hands pouring water on Vishṇu *pāda* i.e., His foot. He wears a garland. On the right of Trivikrama is shown Bali with a similar *kirītamakuta* of the deity, holding a *kamaṇḍala* with both the hands. He wears *kuṇḍalas*, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, anklets, a girdle and *pūrṇōruka*. Next to him is Vāmana. On the left side of the God are shown Vāmana and the queen of Bali with a *kirīṭamakuṭa* and hands in *anjali* pose. This work may be classified as of the *madhyama* category.

49. Gōvindarāj Svāmi Temple.
50. G. J. Dubreuil, *Iconography of Southern India* (1937), Pl. XLVIII.

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Trivikrama in the Anantakalyāṇa manṭapa in the temple of Rāmasvāmi at Kumbhakonam,[51] an epitome of art of the Nayaks of Tanjore, has eight hands with emblems similar to those in the Trivikrama, at Mahābalipuram, with the single difference that the hand supporting the lintel in the latter is in *abhaya* pose. The deity stands with the right foot firmly placed in the two open hands of Earth-*Bhūdēvi* stretched to receive Trivikrama's first pace, while the left foot is raised to measure the regions. This depiction of Earth receiving His foot literally into her hands speaks for the ingenuity of this sculpture and constitutes a unique feature, which is neither found elsewhere, nor mentioned in the Śilpa texts. This Trivikrama wears a *kirīṭamakuṭa,* a *makarakuṇḍala* in the right ear, and a *patrakuṇḍala* in the left, two pearl necklaces, one armlet and two bracelets on hands; anklets, *yajñōpavīta* and full drapery. Vāmana is on the right side, in accordance with the texts; on the left of the deity are depicted Bali and his queen. In this as well as the Durbar scene in the lower section, Bali is adorned with a *kirīṭamakuṭa;* in the latter sculpture he is seated with his queen by his side giving alms to the Brahmins, five of whom are shown in the panel. *Makaratōraṇa* is depicted over the heads of Bali and his queen. Garuḍa is sculptured behind Trivikrama.

Trivikrama panel in the rock-cut temple at Namakkal[52] is more in accordance with Śilpa texts, even than the sculpture at Mahābalipuram. Trivikrama in the *gopura* of the Sthanumalaya Perumal Temple at Suchindram is of the 16th Century A.D. and a specimen of Vijayanagara art. The deity has eight arms; we note *gada,* arrow, discus and a sword in the right arms, while the left top arm is lifted up parallel to the raised left leg to the level of the kirīṭamakuṭa; the second, the third and the fourth bear a bow, a conch and a shield respectively. The deity is profusely ornamented, and wears *makarakuṇḍalas, greivēyakas,* armlets, bracelets, *udarabandha, yajñōpavīta,* girdles and *pūrṇōruka* with folds shown clearly. Beneath his left leg is Vāmana with an umbrella in his left hand while the right one is stretched for alms, in conformity

51. H. K. Śāstri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses,* pp. 32, 33, fig. 21

52. H. K. Śāstri, *S. I. Images of Gods and Goddesses,* p. 31, J. 20

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with the Śilpa texts; just opposite to him is shown Bali, comparatively tall, wearing a huge crown, all ornaments and *ardhōruka* and pouring water from his *kamaṇḍala* into the hands of Vāmana. Close by God's right leg is depicted Śukrāchārya seated in despair covering with his right hand the right eye struck blind by Garuḍa. He is decorated with a *kirīṭa* and ornaments. At the top are shown on the right side Śiva seated with hands in *anjali* and on the left Brahma with two faces washing the raised foot of Trivikrama with the water from the Ganges. Between Śiva and Brahma are depicted two celestials, the sky and the clouds are finely sculptured.[53] This excellent sculpture belongs to the *madhyama* variety.

VI

The images of Trivikrama with six and ten hands are few compared with those with four and eight hands, obviously for want of sanction in the Sanskrit texts. The only example of the former variety is at Paṭṭadakal.[54] The emblems on the right, in the upper and the second hands, are not clear while the third is placed on the hip, whereas on the left, the upper one is close to a person, the second is pointing to the sky and the third is stretched touching the toe of the left foot raised to a level higher than the *kirīṭamakuṭa*. The deity has *makarakuṇḍalas*, necklaces, armlets and two bracelets on all hands, a girdle and *pūrṇōruka*. Śukra, Bali and Vāmana are depicted on the right side of the deity in accordance with the texts and a person with a crown is on the left of the deity. This sculpture belongs to the *madhyama* variety and probably is in later Chāḷukya style, for the hand pointing to the sky is not found in early Chāḷukyan sculptures and the sculptor evidently followed the Pallava and the Rāshṭrakūṭa models.

A specimen of Trivikrama with ten hands is in the *Sangīta-maṇṭapa* of the Vithalasvami Temple at Hampi. In his hands, on the right Trivikrama has a *sankha*, a *gada*, an arrow, a shield and *abhaya mudra* and on the left a *chakra*, an *ankuśa*, a bow and *Varada mudra;* and another hand is raised parallel to the left leg

53. K. K. Pillai, *The Suchindram Temple* (1953), Pl. 24, pp. 129, 376, 378. There are four more panels of the theme in the temple though not so refined and artistic.

54. H. Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture*, Pl. XLVII.

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to the shoulders level, The deity wears a *kirīṭamakuṭa,* necklaces, armlets, bracelets, *yajñōpavīta,* a girdle and drapery. This imposing sculpture is an example of Vijayanagara art and is in contrast with the Hoysala images of Trivikrama mostly with four hands.

VII

The earliest example of Trivikrama with four hands is from Rajim (Raipur District)[55] datable to the 8th Century A.D. The back two hands hold a *chakra* and a *śankha* respectively while the front right is resting on the hip and the left one is outstretched. Except the right front hand, the rest are in accordance with the *Vaikhānasa Āgama.* The uplifted left leg is far above the navel but below the forehead. The god is adorned with a *kirīṭamakuṭa, makarakuṇḍalas,* two pearl necklaces, three armlets and one bracelet on all hands, *yajñōpavīta,* a broad girdle, anklets and *ardhōruka.* Beneath the left leg is shown Ādiśēsha with a seven-headed hood of serpent over his head on the coils of which he is seated in *dīḍhāsana.* His hands are in *anjali* pose. Near the outstretched hand of Trivikrama is the grinning face with a long row of teeth and two tusks at the corners of the mouth. Just below this face is the stem of a tree, probably the *kalpaka,* prescribed in the texts but not found in the examples examined above.

The early medieval sculpture of Trivikrama in the Harihara Temple at Osio, near Jodhpur (C. 800 A.D.)[56] is comparatively primitive. The deity has four hands, with a *gada* in the upper right one, a chakra in the upper left and a conch in the lower left one; the lower right hand is on *kaṭi.* The *kirīṭamakuṭa* of the deity is unusually like a square, and he wears a *makarakuṇḍala* in the right ear, a *patrakuṇḍala* in the left, broad *greivēyaka,* one broad armlet, and one broad bracelet on each hand, a girdle, broad *chennavīra* with a knot in the midst, and *ardhōruka.* Trivikrama stands on the right leg while the left is stretched upto the level of the forehead, thrusting the face depicted with grimace. From the discus, something like a stream is flowing down as though

55. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* I — I, Pl. XLVIII.

56. Stella kramarische, *The Hindu Temple* (1946), Vol. II. Pl. LXX.

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through the conch, across his right knee reaching the mace in the upper right hand, appearing like the head of a snake. Namūchi is holding the right foot of the God in prayer; on the left of the deity is depicted Garuḍa catching hold of Śukrāchārya and next to Śukrāchārya is Vāmana receiving the gift from Bali standing opposite to him and pouring water in his hands from his *kamaṇḍala*. Garuḍa has wings and is adorned with a *greivēyaka* and a bracelet; Śukrāchārya is wearing a turban and a broad *greivēyaka*, Vāmana has an umbrella on his head and a big belly. Bali wears a turban, a broad *greivēyaka* and has *kamaṇḍala* in both hands. Above Bali is a woman doing *anjali* and her lower half is shaped like a serpent. Trivikrama is taking strides across all space, "a cosmic movement in which the image of Vishṇu is a counterpart in its own right to that of Śiva Naṭarāja."[57]

In the Varāha Temple at Kadwar[58] is a sculpture of Trivikrama with four hands, possessing a mace in the upper right one, a discus in the upper left and a conch in the lower left one while the lower right is in *varada mudra*. The deity is on *padmapīṭha* in *uṭkaṭikāsana* and resting on the raised knee. This is one of the twenty-four forms of Vishṇu and different from the other form, taking strides. A similar image of Trivikrama probably of the Chōḷa age in *samabhanga* is in Tanjore.[59] Of his four hands, he has a *chakra* in the upper right one, and a conch in the upper left one; while the lower right one is in *abhaya* pose and the lower left one is on *kaṭi*. The *chakra* is in *prayōg* position. The deity has a massive *kirīṭamakuṭa, makarakuṇḍalas,* broad armlets and bracelets and four pearl chains, three pearl necklaces, *yajñōpavīta, udarabandha,* girdle with *simhalalāṭa,* and *pūrṇōruka* with folds in the midst. Another image[60] of Trivikrama is in *samabhanga,* with a lotus, a war club, a keen-edged discus, and a conch in his four hands. On the ornamental arch over his head are depicted the ten *Avatārs,* Vāmana being the top-most on the left. This is a specimen of Bengal art under the Pālas and the Sēnas.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 403.
58. H. D. Sankalia, *The Archaeology in Gujarat,* p. 148.
59. *Tanjore Art Gallery Guide Book* no. 7, p. 18.
60. H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia,* p. 16, Pl. 388.

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The sculpture of Trivikrama from Modhera[61] has no parallel in details of composition. All the hands and the emblems in them are mutilated. The deity's left leg is carried backwards and the right is stretched upto the chest and touches the solitary face—obviously not Brahma's. Below on the left side is depicted Vāmana receiving the gift from Bali, and the figure on the right is probably Namūchi. The fineness of the sculpture is "partly shown by the spirited action, indicated by the backward throw of the head and curve in the back".

In the Chennakēśava Temple[62] at Belur, Trivikrama is depicted in the centre on the screen near the doorway, with his uplifted foot washed by Brahma. To his right stands Bali with folded hands and to his left are two figures of Garuḍa, one with hands folded in salutation and the other dragging Śukra to punish him. The lower panel depicts Bali's durbar, his making the gift and so forth. The representation of Vāmana on the right side and of Garuḍa with Śukra is in agreement with the *Vaikhānasa Āgama*. This sculpture evidently represents the later Chāḷukyan art.

The Belur and Nuggehalli images of Trivikrama with four hands are specimens of the Hoysala art. The Belur[63] Trivikrama has a *śankha* and a *gada* in the right hands and a *chakra* in the left back hand. The object in the front left hand is not clear—it is probably a *padma*. Here the sculptor followed the prescription about Trivikrama in relation to the twenty-four images of Vishṇu. Following the Śilparatna, the sculptor made the deity stand on the left leg and the right is stretched above the navel. Over the right foot sits long-bearded Brahma washing it with the Ganges water flowing down as a river suggested by the depiction of fish and tortoises in it. The deity wears a *kirīṭa-makuṭa, chakrakuṇḍalas,* three necklaces, two *hāras,* thick heavy bracelets one on each hand, *yajñōpavīta, udarabandha,* a girdle with pearl hangings, a garland reaching below the knee, and heavy anklets and *urdhōruka*. Below the right leg stands Garuḍa in *alīḍhāsana* with hands in *anjali*. The creeper over the head of Trivikrama is pro-

61. H. D. Sankalia, *The Archaeology in Gujarat,* p. 151.
62. R. Narasimhachar, *The Kēśava Temple at Belur,* p. 4.
63. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* I — I, Pl. LII, Fig. 3.

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bably the *Kalpaka*. In the Nuggehalli[64] sculpture, the *kalpaka* is depicted like any ordinary tree, over which Sun and Moon are shown. On the left of Trivikrama is a male figure. Here, as in the Belur sculpture, the right leg is stretched beyond the level of the navel and the deity has heavy ornamentation; the emblems of the deity are the same as in the previous one and copiously ornamented. The sculptor appended his name in these instances. These two belong to the *madhyama* class.

The sculpture of Trivikrama from Chatsu (Jaipur District) in Marwar[65] is disproportionate unlike the Belur and Nuggehalli images. He has a *gada*, a *chakra* and a *śankha* in his three hands and a lotus in the hand resting on the thigh. The face is big, the body is small and the outstretched left leg is too short and unnatural. The deity has a *kirīṭamakuṭa, patrakuṇḍalas*, necklaces, a *hāra*, one armlet, two bracelets on hands, a garland upto the knees, anklets and *ardhōruka*. To the right of the deity is shown a goddess with *vīṇa*. Beneath the left leg are Vāmana and Bali and behind Bali are shown his queen and Śukrāchārya. Over this group and below the left foot are shown Sun and Moon. Below the right foot of the deity, Bali and his queen appear with hands in *anjali* at the bottom in the left hand corner, i.e., the Pātāḷa at the conclusion of the Trivikrama incarnation. In the adjoining compartment is a horse, i.e., sacrificial horse tied to the post. In this sculpture are several new items — Saraswati, Bali and his queen in Pātāḷa, and the horse — not authorised by the texts.

In the Trivikrama sculpture in Nāgalāpuram,[66] of the age of Krishṇarāya, the deity's back hands contain a *śankha* and a *chakra* and of the front two, one is in *varada* pose and the other is stretched parallel to the uplifted left leg — in accordance with the Śilpa texts. The deity has a *kirīṭamakuṭa, makarakuṇḍalas*, three armlets, and two bracelets on each hand, *yajñōpavīta*, a girdle with pearl hangings, anklets and *pūrnōruka*. Brahma is shown washing the foot of Trivikrama; the flowing water forming a river with

64. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* I — I, Pl. LIII.

65. Indian Museum, Calcutta; T. A. Gopinath Rao, *Hindu Iconography* I — I, Pl. LII, Fig. 1.

66. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* I — I, Pl. LII, Fig. 2.

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fish in it falls on the *jaṭa* of Śiva in *yōga* posture on the Kailāsa. Thus the incident of Śiva receiving the Ganga on his head is combined here with the washing of Trivikrama's foot by Brahma with the Ganges water,[67] which is sculptured white and fine in accordance with the Śilpa texts. This belongs to the *madhyama* variety.

In the Tirumala Temple[68] is a sculpture of Trivikrama standing on the left leg with the right one stretched as far as the knee of the left leg. He wears the usual emblem in the four hands and ornaments; an exact replica of this is in a *maṇḍapa* there. In the *kalyānamantapa* is a Trivikrama shown with four hands and he has the right leg stretched on level with the forehead. The sculptor has followed the *Śilparatna* in the delineation of these sculptures. In the temple[69] at Tirupati is a sculpture of Trivikrama with left leg stiff and the right stretched to the level of the shoulder. Of his four hands, there is a conch in the upper right one, the second probably is in *abhaya* pose; the left upper one has a *chakra* and the lower one is placed on the thigh. The deity is adorned with a *kirīṭamakuṭa, chakrakuṇḍalas,* two necklaces, *yajñōpavīta, udarabandha,* a girdle with pearl hangings, and *ardhōruka.* On the right of the deity is a person seated wearing a *kirīṭa,* and with hands in *anjali* pose. Next to him is Vāmana and facing him is Bali pouring water from a water vessel held in his both hands. He wears no crown but *ardhōruka.* In a shrine in the temple is an image of Trivikrama with the left leg stretched upto the knee of the firm right leg. The deity has four arms with the usual emblems and a garland upto the knees. In another shrine is a sculpture of Trivikrama. He has a *śankha* and a *chakra* in the back two arms and the front two are in *abhaya* and *varada* poses and the left leg is raised straight upto the level of the *kirīṭamakuṭa.* He wears *makarakuṇḍalas,* three *valayas* on hands, two *greiveyakas, yajñōpavīta, udarabandha,* a girdle with pearls, anklets, a garland hanging down to the knees and *pūrnōruka.* On the left of Trivikrama is standing a person with hands in *anjali* pose. He wears a *kirīṭa* and *ardhōruka.* In a panel beneath this, Bali is shown pouring water, with *kamaṇḍala* held with his both hands.

67. Bhāgavatapurāṇa.
68. Śrī Venkaṭēśvara Temple.
69. Govindarājasvāmi Temple — The Sculptures in the Tirumala and Tirupati temples were examined by Miss A. Suryakumari, M.A., and myself on 30-9-1963 and 6-10-1963.

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He wears a *kirīṭa, chakrakuṇḍalas,* two *greivēyakas, yajnōpavīta, bhujakīrtis,* three armlets and bracelets, a girdle, anklets, garland down to the knees and *pūrnōruka.* The *kamaṇḍala* is finely shaped; on the right is Vāmana. This sculpture belongs to the *uttama* class among sculptures.

In the huge temple complex of Jagannath at Puri,[70] near the Muktamanṭapa, opposite to the shrine of Narasimha is a panel of Trivikrama. The deity has four hands with a conch in the right upper one and a lotus (broken) in the lower one; the left upper one is raised and the lower one has a *gada.* He wears a *kirīṭa-makuṭa,* other ornaments and drapery and his left leg is raised on which Brahma is seated. Below is shown Vāmana receiving alms with both hands; just close to him is placed a kamandala on the ground; in the middle is depicted Śukrāchārya; on the right side of Vāmana is shown Bali's queen. Bali is shown pouring water through a conchshell — a peculiarity, not found in any other example of the image of Bali. He is wearing a *kirīṭamakuṭa* and the usual ornaments and drapery. There is a similar big panel on a side of the *gopura* of the temple. In this instance of Trivikrama with four hands, the hand broken in the foregoing example is perfect with the petals of the lotus finely depicted. Brahma is beautifully sculptured on the raised leg of the deity; there is another figure of Brahma near it; above are shown gandharvas hovering; on sides are seen attendants; below is a panel of Bali making the gift. The cave near the entrance *gopura* of the temple, called the *pātāḷa* is said to be the place where Bali was pressed down by Trivikrama. There is still another small Trivikrama sculpture rather dilapidated, with details not clear.

VIII

Besides the temple to the Daśāvatāras at Ellora, the temple to Trivikramasvāmi at Peddacherukūru, i.e., the Ikshugrāma, a centre of culture and education, had enjoyed the patronage of the Andhra dynasties, e.g., the Chāḷukyas of Vengi, the Telugu Choḷas and the Reḍḍis.[71] Temples to Trivikrama are at Tirukkoyilur on

70. I have visited the temple on 24-12-1964.

71. *S.I.I.,* VI, 202, 206; *J.A.H.R.S.,* 27—History of Āndhradēśa—Subsidiary dynasties — Dr. V. Yasoda Devi, p. 25; *Nellore Inscriptions;* 46 of 1909, *E.I.,* XIII, No. 39.

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the southern bank of the Pennar, at Shiyali and at Kanchipuram.[72] The deity of Trivikramasvāmi in the temple of Anantabhōga, at Kasuvukurru (Guntur District) according to tradition, was consecrated by Vāmana[73] and patronised by the Reddis. Trivikramadeva, the author of *Trivikramavritti,* a Prakrit grammar, was a Bāṇa chieftain of the 15th Century A.D.,[74] the Bāṇas being the only dynasty in the annals of history, claiming descent from Mahābali Bāṇa. His name and that of his work are an asset to the devotion to the different branches of the Bāṇa dynasty had towards Vāmana Trivikrama through the ages.

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72. Ulagaḷandaperumāḷ Temple — *S.I.I.,* IV, 353.

73. V. Yasoda Devi: *The Reḍḍis* (of Koṇḍavīḍu and Rajahmundry (MS) p. 503; Appendix p. 593; V. P. Śāstri, *Śriṅgāraśrīnāthamu,* pp. 116-117. Appendix, p. 14. Kasuvukurru (Bapatla Taluk) near Ponnur on the river Tungabhadra in Velanatidivisima, was donated to the God in A.D. 1404 by Pedakamati Vemati Vema Reddi on the occasion of his going for bath to the river. (Kusuvukurru Plates, Local Records, Vol. 42, pp. 283-288; Vol. 14, p. 238.

74. *Journal of Oriental Research* (Madras), V. p. 314.

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Sir Spencer Harcourt Butler and the University Education in India

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Around no Civil Service man in the covenanted employment of the British Crown has legend grown so thick and fast as is associated with Sir Spencer Harcourt Butler who left indelible impression on Indian politics, culture and social life during the early 20th century. His career was, in the words of the *'Times'*, "in some respects without parallel even in the remarkable records of the Indian Civil Service".[1] He did not become famous overnight, but paved his way upwards by dint of hard work and amazing versatility. Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, who assisted Butler in his varied activities, also observes, "I have seldom seen a more versatile mind or a more speedy worker. His mental equipment was such that there were few subjects of which he was not master, while the speed at which he disposed of files was astonishing." "Work quickly done", he used to say, "is generally work well done".[2] Lord Minto, the Viceroy of India from 1905 to 1910, was so much impressed by him that he appointed him Secretary of the Foreign Department from the post of Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow at the close of 1907.[3] In 1910, as the *'Statesman'*, New Delhi, writes, "attracting attention in high places by his adminis-

1. The *Times*, London, March 3, 1938 (Obt. Colmn.).
2. The *Pioneer*, Lucknow, March 5, 1938, p. 8.
3. The friendship which had developed between Lord Minto and Butler did not end on Minto's retirement, but they remained in friendly correspondence with each other till Minto's death in 1914. Lady Minto wanted him to write her husband's biography. But he politely declined to do so, as he was still on the threshold of his career and did not want to involve himself in any political controversies. In the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, are found, amongst Minto's private papers, some interesting letters which passed between them from 1911 to 1913, dealing with the political situation in India, education, army and with officials of the Government of India, and Provincial Governments.

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trative powers," he was appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council and was made the first Education Member of the new Department of Education.[4] 'When the Government of India created that appointment the impression was general that it was created to get him to Delhi, and there was much rumour when he was translated to still higher responsibilities that the post having served its purpose was to be abolished'.[5]

As the Member for Education Butler's Government Resolution of February 21, 1913, shall always be remembered for his reviewing and reshaping of the educational policy of India. He laid down the broad principles for the expansion of educational facilities from the primary to the University stage. While Butler was busy with his work on education in 1913, he wrote an important letter to Lord Minto. "I am busy with educational schemes. I want a lot of money but I am sure that the only way to capture India now and bring it into the Empire is thro' Education. Once we show that we are in earnest I am sure that other things will follow. Lord Hardinge is fortunately of the same view. My own idea is that the only possible development of your reforms is to bring India into the Empire, by degrees as opportunity offers. We are the only possible government of the country for any time that we can foresee, if we take count of Indian aspirations and lead them rather than reluctantly give in to them."[6]

Besides organising the primary, secondary, technical, industrial and agricultural education, Butler gave a great fillip to the University education in India to which he had already given expression in his famous Resolution. In his letter of July 31, 1911, to Raja Mohammad Ali of Mahmudabad, which was in reply to a proposal of the Muslim University put to him by a deputation,[7]

4. The *Statesman*, New Delhi, March 7, 1938, p. 8.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Butler to Minto—18th May 1911. Minto Collection. N.L.S.
7. The deputation consisted of the Raja Mohammad Ali of Mahmudabad Viqar-ul-mulk, Aftab Ahmad Khan, and Dr. Zia-ud-din, which met Butler in May, 1911. This deputation was not the first move of the Muslims for the establishment of Muslim University, but much before that in their address to Lord Minto on October, 1, 1906, another Muslim deputation had already asked for the establishment of the Muslim University, and the Agha Khan was its keen and active supporter.

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Butler informed them that the Government and the Secretary of State would sanction the University "provided, first, that your committee can show that you have adequate funds in hand for the purpose, and, secondly, that the constitution of the proposed University is acceptable in all details to the Government of India and to his Majesty's Secretary of State". Though there was some opposition[8] to this idea of establishing such a sectarian University, yet he supported and shouldered valiantly his full load of responsibility with tenacity of purpose and patience. This attitude of Butler for the proposed Muslim University made the Muslims more hopeful. Abdulla Yusuf Ali, the Deputy Commissioner of Sultanpur at that time, while delivering his Presidential address at the Mohammedan Educational Conference held at Nagpur on December 27, 1910, said that the Muslims would be able to secure the help of Butler and the Viceroy in their struggle for a Muslim University.[9] Though about 30 lakhs of rupees, the minimum required by the Government for the grant of University Charter—were collected by the Muslims, yet it could not fructify till December 1920, when Butler was serving as the Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Butler's address at the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, on November 25, 1919, was an echo of the past. He declared "I must leave it to you to decide when will be the appropriate moment to revive that imposing and large-hearted proposal to convert your College into a University. All that I can say is that when that moment has come you will have no more active friend and supporter than myself."[10]

Butler's correspondence with Minto in this connection deserves mention. In one of his letters, he explained to Minto the reason why the University Charter was not granted for the Muslim

8. The comment of the *Bengalee*, a Congress organ, on January 28, 1905, on Mohammad Ali's speech at the Ahmedabad Mohammedan Educational Conference held in October, 1904, was, all our Universities must be Indian, and all true lovers of their country should endeavour to bring the different communities together at school and college and not to divide them early in life by setting up separate educational institutions for them ... A University can be neither Hindu, Mohammedan, Parsi, Christian."

9. See full text of his speech in the *Indian Review*, January 1911, pp. 66-68.

10. Sir Harcourt Butler, *Collection of Speeches*. Rangoon, 1927, p. 19.

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University in 1911. "One of the big things", he writes, "that is coming on us is the Mahn (Mahommedan) University. It is a purely political move; but the Agha Khan has worked on the feelings of his co-religionists with consummate skill and brilliancy. I am in touch with them and they will, I think, accept complete Government control. In that case there will be no difficulty. We shall get the beginnings of a teaching University at the expense of the public and religious or moral instruction or at least some attempt at it." But it was not the only hindrance and obstacle. There was further the danger that "the Hindus will start a rival University." Even then he thought that "that is not a drawback if there is a Government control as there must be. For we can kill any movement if we refuse to recognise their degrees for entrance into public service. We were never stronger than we are today and can well afford to look on new developments with interested sympathy."[11]

Butler again wrote in May 1911 to Minto, "I think we shall have to allow a Mahn (Mahommedan) University at Aligarh. Personally I am in favour of any teaching University and think any change on the present system must be for the better, as the present system is so bad. There must be Government control of course and due safeguards. A Hindu University will, I suppose, follow."[12]

What he prophesied came to be true. Eminent Hindus like the Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Singh Bahadur of Darbhanga, Mahamana Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya and Sir Sunder Lal raised the cry for the establishment of a Hindu University at Benaras. It is interesting to see Butler, a true doyen of University education, playing an equally important role in this affair. His generous sympathy with which he supported and helped this great cause can be seen in the correspondence he had with Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Singh Bahadur of Darbhanga. The first important letter of Butler addressed to the Maharaja was written on December 12, 1911, in reply to the Maharaja's letter of October 10, 1911. This letter was the most important communication from the Govern-

11. Butler to Minto-March 29, 1911. Minto Collection. N.L.S.
12. *Ibid.* May 18, 1911.

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ment of India, indicative of its approval of the idea of the proposed University at Benaras. The letter runs thus:

Simla, 12th October, 1911.

My dear Maharaja Bahadur,

I have received your letter of the 10th instant in which you refer to the widespread movement amongst the Hindu public to establish a Hindu University on such lines as may be approved and sanctioned by the Government of India; to the different schemes put forward, and the desirability of my making a pronouncement as to the lines on which Government will be prepared to support the idea of a Hindu University. You add that you are quite convinced that the Hindus will be only too happy to carry out loyally any directions that the Government may be pleased to give them and will thankfully accept any suggestions that I may be pleased to make.

You will understand that in the absence of definite and detailed schemes it is not possible for me at present to do more than indicate certain conditions on which the Government of India must insist as antecedent to the recognition by the Government of the movement for the establishment of a Hindu University.

They are:

1. The Hindus should approach the Government in a body as the Mahommedans did.
2. A strong, efficient and financially sound College with an adequate European staff should be the basis of the scheme.
3. The University should be a modern University differing from the existing Universities, mainly in being a technical and residential University and offering religious instruction.
4. The movement should be entirely educational.
5. There should be the same measure of Government supervision and opportunity to give advice as in the case of the proposed University at Aligarh.

I need scarcely add that it would be necessary hereafter to satisfy the Government of India and the Secretary of State as to

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the adequacy of the funds collected and the suitability in all particulars of the constitution of the University. The Government of India must, of course, reserve to itself full power in regard to all details of any scheme which they may hereafter place before the Secretary of State, whose direction in regard to the movement and my proposals that may arise from it, they cannot in any way prejudice. I may add that the Government of India appreciates the spirit of the concluding passage of your letter and that you can count on the ungrudging co-operation of myself and the Department in furthering any scheme that may commend itself to the Government of India and the Secretary of State.

Yours sincerely,[13]
Sd./-
HARCOURT BUTLER

In this connection, the speech of the Maharaja of Darbhanga, delivered at a public meeting of the citizens of Meerut, is also very significant. In his speech he observed, "I returned to Simla last week and had an opportunity of discussing the matter with my friend, the member of Education. I am now in a position to tell you, gentlemen, that the response has been most favourable. Our lasting gratitude is due to His Excellency the Viceroy and to the Hon'ble Member for Education for the very kindly personal interest which they have taken in the matter. I shall have the pleasure of laying before you the correspondence that has passed between me and the Hon'ble Mr. Butler, and I am convinced that you will consider it eminently satisfactory."[14]

Butler's efforts blossomed when he got the opportunity of piloting the Benaras Hindu University Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council on March 22, 1915.[15] His endeavours and services for the establishment of the Benaras Hindu University could be gleaned from these words of Mahamana Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in the Viceroy's Council, "I should also be wanting in

13. Sundaram, V. A., *'The Benaras Hindu University* 1905-1935', 1936, pp. 84-85.

14. Sundaram, V. A., *'The Benaras Hindu University,* 1905-1935', 1936, p. 201.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

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my duty if I did not express our sincere gratitude to the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler for the generous sympathy with which he has supported and helped us."[16] At the next meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on October 1, 1915, Butler moved that the Report of the Select Committee be taken into consideration.[17] The same day the Benaras Hindu University Act (Act XVI of 1915) was passed by the Governor-General in Council. While laying the foundation stone of the Benaras Hindu University on February 4, 1916, Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy of India, expressed, "his high appreciation of the zealous, but reasonable spirit in which the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Sunder Lal and others, conducted negotiations with Sir Harcourt Butler representing the Government of India, to whose great tact and conciliatory attitude," he also added, "I believe the promoters of the scheme would pay as high an eulogy as I wish to pay myself, and thus enabled the measure which gives birth to this institution to be passed through my Council in time of war as a non-controversial measure."[18]

The desire of Sir Harcourt Butler found fruition when the proposed Aligarh Muslim University, which remained hanging for five years after the establishment of the Benaras Hindu University, came to be formed in October, 1920 by an Act passed in September of the same year of the Indian Legislative Council in accordance with the wishes of the Muslim University Association.[19] The Act, in fact, came into force from December, 1920. This University was incorporated on the lines of the Benaras Hindu University. The Muslim Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, became the nucleus of this newly-established unitary, residential and teaching University. The property of the Muslim University Association was transferred to it.[20] The generosity and charity of Butler who was the Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh at that time, crossed all limits when he gave a liberal grant of Rs. 50,000/- to the University. Sir Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan, Raja of

16. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 222.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
19. 'Bureau of Education-India; Indian Education in 1920-21', 1920, pp. 9-10.
20. *Ibid.* *Also see:* Sen, S. C., *'Speeches of Butler'*, 1921, p. 12.

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Mahmudabad, the first Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University, in the course of his speech delivered on the occasion of the inauguration ceremony of the University in 1920, referred to the historic visit of Sir Harcourt Butler, who raised the grant to the University from Rs. 12,000/- to Rs. 50,000/-.[21]

It will not be wrong to mention here that before his appointment in the United Provinces as the Lieutenant Governor in 1918, Butler had also served Burma in the same capacity in the year 1915. Here too he did much in the same spirit for the cause of education by raising a large sum of subscription for the foundation of the teaching Rangoon University, thereby ending the inconvenient and unsatisfactory affiliation of the college of Burma to the Calcutta University across the Bay of Bengal.

Even after he assumed the charge of the United Provinces as Lieutenant-Governor, Butler was not unmindful of his cause and started reorganizing the existing Universities and establishing new ones. His aim was to start teaching and residential Universities at Allahabad, Lucknow, Agra and Kanpur. First, he took up the question of starting a University at Lucknow. He appointed a committee in 1919 for considering a scheme for the constitution of a University at Lucknow.[22] The recommendations of the Committee were referred to a sub-Committee of the Senate of the Allahabad University, which approved them in 1920. In August, 1920, the Lucknow University Bill was introduced in the Provincial Legislative Council which became an Act in October, 1920.[23] The Lucknow Improvement Committee provided a fine site for the University. For buildings and equipment of the University, Butler collected a large sum from the Taluqdars and Zamindars of the province.[24] Government also gave liberal aid for the purpose.[25]

21. *Ibid. Also see:* The *New India,* Madras, December 20, 1920, p. 8.

22. R.O.A.O.U.P.A.O., 1919-20; p. XV, *also see:* Sen, S. C.; *Speeches of Butler,* 1921, p. 10.

23. R.O.A.O.U.P.A.O., 1920-21; pp. XII-XIII, *Also see:* Sen, S. C.; *Speeches of Butler,* 1921, p. 48.

24. Sen, S. C., *Speeches of Butler,* 1921, pp. 2, 52-53. *Also see:* R.O.A.O.U.P.A.O., 1920-21, p. XIII.

25. "I do not shrink from expenditure on education", said Butler while addressing a public meeting at Allahabad on August 5, 1918. Sen, S. C., *Speeches of Butler,* 1921, p. 30.

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In the plans and designs for the erection of imposing University buildings, Butler took keen interest.[26] On March 19, 1921, he laid the foundation stone of the University.[27] Thus, in spite of doubts exercised by certain sections in the beginning regarding the establishment of this University at Lucknow, Butler firmly and most successfully implemented his schemes.

The constitution and organization of the Lucknow University was modelled on that of the Dacca University.[28] There were some minor differences on certain matters. In the course of his speech delivered at the Senate meeting of the Allahabad University on August 7, 1920, Butler said that the Lucknow University Act was based upon the Dacca University Act,[29] which had been passed in the Imperial Legislative Council. Its differences with the Dacca University were nominal except in two essentials. In the first place, it had not been thought necessary to make provision in Lucknow for communal representation on the governing bodies of the University; and secondly, it was thought necessary to preserve the identity and separate life of the colleges, as for as possible, without infringing the principles of a unitary, residential and teaching University.[30] It accepted no responsibility outside Lucknow and, within that area, was responsible for all 'formal' teaching.[31] It was an autonomous body.[32] It was to frame its own ordinances and regulations, as well as such additional statutes as might be necessary.[33] All the lecturers barring a few junior ones were *ex-officio* members of the Academic Council of the University.[34]

26. The *Lucknow University Journal*, Vol. I, No. 2, December, 1922, p. 5. *Also see*: R.O.A.O.U.P.A.O., 1920-21, p. XIII. *Also see*: The *Aaj* Benaras, November 14, 1922, p. 1.
27. The *New India*, Madras, March 21, 1921; p. 9.
28. Nurullah, S. and Naik, J. P., *History of Education in India*, 1951, p. 507.
29. The Dacca University Act was passed in 1920. Nurullah, S. and Naik, J. P., *History of Education in India*, 1951, p. 507.
30. Sen, S. C., *Speeches of Butler*, 1921, p. 47.
31. 'Bureau of Education-India; *Indian Education in* 1920-21', 1920, p. 9.
32. It was his (Butler's) Government's policy to encourage University autonomy. Sen, S. C., *Speeches of Butler*, 1921, p. 47.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *The Lucknow University Journal*, Vol. I, September, 1922, p. 17.

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The Canning College, Lucknow, which is the nucleus of the University and which was an institution of the Taluqdars of Oudh, was handed over to the Lucknow University in perpetuity by a *sanad* duly executed with a charge of 1·5 per cent on the revenue demands of their estates. This endowment was put on a more firm and legal basis by the Canning College Contribution Act of 1920.[35] Another important College handed over to the Lucknow University during that period was the Isabella Thoburn College which was maintained by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Evangelical Church of New York. This College formed the Women's Department of the University.[36] In March, 1921, through the efforts of Butler, the King George's Medical College, (now called the Gandhi Associated Memorial Medical College) Lucknow, which was a Government Institution, was transferred with its magnificient buildings and hospital to the Lucknow University.

With the transfer of this College to the University, the Faculty of Medicine was started.[37] Dr. Gyanendra Nath Chakravarti, who was nominated by Butler to the Legislative Council as an educational expert for the preparation of the Lucknow University Act, was appointed as the first Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University. The promotion of Dr. Chakravarti, who had been denied appointment in the Indian Educational Service despite his vast experience and undoubtable merit, illustrates Butler's quality of recognising genius and employing the best talents among Indians.[38] He did not suffer from racial prejudice.

Butler took up the question of the Allahabad University in two parts—affiliating part and a residential teaching unit. He

35. *Ibid.*

36. Before the establishment of the Allahabad University, two colleges, viz., the Canning College and the Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, were affiliated to the Calcutta University, which was situated at a distance of over 600 miles. But with the establishment of the Allahabad University in 1887, and particularly after passing the Indian Universities Act of 1904, these were affiliated to the Allahabad University which assumed more of a federal character. When the Lucknow University was established in 1921, these colleges became part of this University.

The *Lucknow University Journal*, Vol. I, September, 1922, p. 17.

37. The *Lucknow University Journal*, Vol. I, September, 1922, p. 17. *Also see:* Sen, S. C., *Speeches of Butler*, 1921, p. 48.

38. Sinha, S., *The Hindustan Review*, Vol. No. 381, November, 1936, pp. 373.

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appointed a Commission in 1919 with the Vice-Chancellor as President to go into the question.[39] In 1920 a Bill regarding this University's reorganisation was prepared. It became an Act in 1920.[40] The Provincial Government also received the assent of the Government of India at the close of the Year 1921.[41] Butler wanted to establish a Medical College at Allahabad (which has recently been established) but owing to certain difficulties, he could not succeed.[42] There was also a proposal in 1921 to affiliate the Agriculture College, Kanpur, and Engineering College, Roorkee, to the Allahabad University, but it also did not materialise.[43]

In order to fulfil his long-cherished ambition of establishing a similar unitary, residential and teaching University at Agra, Butler received a deputation from the Agra University Committee in 1922, but financial difficulties came in his way.[44] This was followed by his exit from the office in the same year.

The seed which he had sown was found to bēar fruit. In 1927 an affiliating University at Agra was established. Its jurisdiction extended over the whole of the United Provinces (excluding the territorial limits of the four teaching Universities of Benaras, Aligarh, Allahabad, and Lucknow) Rajputana (Rajasthan), Central India and Gwalior.[45] Butler's desire to establish a University at Kanpur on the pattern of Allahabad and Lucknow Universities, could not however materialise during his regime.

39. R.O.A.O.U.P.A.O., 1919-20, p. XV. *Also see*: Sen, S. C., *Speeches of Butler*, 1921, p. 10.
40. 'Bureau of Education—India; Indian Education in 1920-21', 1920, p. 9. *Also see*: 'Supp. Chapter—April to December, 1921 R.O.A.O.U.P.A.O., 1921-22', p. XX.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Sen, S. C., *Speeches of Butler*, 1921, p. 51.
43. The *Aaj* Benaras, August 6, 1921, p. 4.
44. The *Pioneer*, Lucknow, January 7, 1922, p. 7.
45. Nurullah, S., Naik, V. P., *History of Education in India*, 1951, p. 628.

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Structure of Hair as a Guide to Racial Classification

THE NEGRITO PROBLEM

BY

L. A. KRISHNA IYER

The structure of hair is one of the distinguishing marks for the identification of races, and it plays an unusually large part in regard to the Negrito problem in India. The researches of Lapicque among the Kadar convinced him that the existence of 'one race Negri primitive' was incontestable. It was several times advanced by Preuss, Sergi, Keane, and Haddon. The Census of 1931 marks a new landmark on the light thrown on the problem by Hutton, B. S. Guha, and by myself. The publication of Appendix I of the Census Report of Travancore and my *"Travancore Tribes and Castes"* evoked an unusual interest among anthropologists in India and abroad who saw for the first time the enormous material available on the aboriginals. Notable among those who enriched the literature on the subject are Walchmidt, Lideo Cipriani, Eickstedt, Ruggles Gates, Eileen Macfarlane, and Maundelbaum. Elliot Smith points out very appositely that though the difference of hair is of use in discrimination between races, it is important not to rely on the character of hair alone in the assessment of racial character. Anthropometric evidence also comes into reckoning.

Hutton drew attention to the existence of the Negrito strain among the Angami Nagas and said "In the Kadar and Urali of the extreme south, occasional individuals with frizzly hair are very suggestive of the Negrito race." To Hutton who visited Travancore in 1931, "the Uralis seem to suggest the Negrito as much as the Kadar does. The height of the men is about 5 feet, and hair is very curly, but is also harsh and, in some individuals kinky. The features suggest that the basic type is proto-Australoid with some Negrito admixture and perhaps Mediterranean". Another eminent anthropologist Ruggles Gates also observes that

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"the Uralis are a tribe isolated in the jungle, and that the Kanikkar, Ureli, and the Kurumbas show some Australoid features in different degrees and show some evidence of Negrito ancestry." He also points out that the Kanikkar have short stature and kinky hair indicating Negrito relationship. Spirally curved hair has been observed by me among the Urali, the Kanikkar, the Malapantaram, the Malavetan and Vishavan and it is being subjected to microscopic study.

B. S. Guha not only observed the existence of frizzly hair among the Kadar of Cochin, but observed, "though the mean cephalic index of the Kadar was dolichocephalic, among the individuals with frizzly hair, there is a marked tendency for a rise to mesocephaly, as shown by two individuals having 77·34 and 77·29 as the value of their index which indicates that the basis of the Negrito type was brachycephalic or at least mesocephalic as among the Semangs, but large admixture with the dolichocephalic race affected the shape of the head." Early in the century, the existence of 16% of mesocephaly and 4% brachycephaly was observed by L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer among 50 Kadar measured by him. Confirmation of the above view was found by me among the curly-haired Malapantarams among whom 42 out of 63 measured were mesocephalic and 4 brachycephalic. Their average cephalic index was 76. They are surrounded by such 'doleph' tribes as the Malayarayan, the Ullatan, and the Urali. Further evidence is made available by B. K. Chatterjee and G. D. Kumar in 1956 by their study of the Urali, when they found curly to wavy hair and three with frizzly hair.

In 1957, S. S. Sarkar led an anthropological expedition for a thorough study of the Kadar followed by a team of experts. The main problem tackled by them is the Negrito strain among the Kadar. Dr. D. N. Majumdar earlier argued that the occurrence of a few brachycephalic individuals among the Kadar and the Pulayan does not necessarily prove the existence of a Negrito strain or Negrito infiltration. As no mention was made about the incidence of the character of hair and as no microscopic examination was made, he was not prepared to attach importance to my observations on the matter, but he considered that Negroid features had been reported in the coastal parts of India and the

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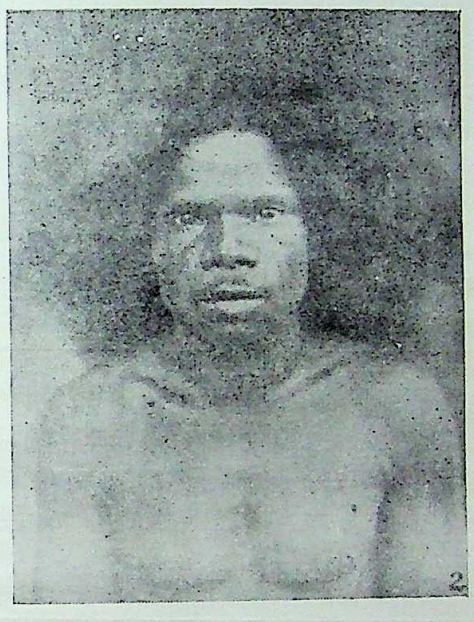

Kadar of Cochin showing curly hair

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Mudugan of Attapadi Valley, Malabar showing curly hair

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Malapantaram—Front and Profile—showing curly hair

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infiltration of the Negroid element might have taken place about the 10th century A.D.

S. S. Sarkar supports the contentions of Majumdar by pointing out that the Negrito racial strain has been interpreted from the point of frizzly hair and he discredits the idea by saying that such sporadic occurrences of frizzly hair are known among a few non-tribal population and it is morphologically and histologically different from the Negrito hair samples of the Onges of the Little Andamans. Banerjee and Bhattacharjee say, "that the Kadar does not possess any frizzly hair and their physical features are distinctly Negroid. They have located the centre of such admixture in the innermost village of Parambikulam." They observe that Negro slaves were imported into Malabar in the 10th century A.D. and that frizzly hair cannot form the basic strain among the Kadar.

M. Guisende, who visited the Kadar in 1959 states, that the Kadar type (Negritoid or Negroid) has not been genetically examined. Eickstedt thinks of the Malid-Orienteloid mixture-Veddoid mixture responsible for the Australoid-like element". He considers provisionally, the "Kadar area pseudo-Austroloid racial form, the essential morphological characterestic of which originates from a proto-Australoid variety together with primitive Malid heredity. These basic elements explain the racial picture of the Kadar and there is no necessity for dragging in the Negritoid element."

It is a valuable survey that has been made by Banerjee and Bhattacharjee, but they overlook the influence of the time factor which brings about changes in structure and detract the value of the microscopic examination of hair made in 1957-1959. Dr. A. K. Mitra brought to my notice a short note published by L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer on the physical Anthropology of the Kadar of the Cochin Hills in 'Man in India' in 1923. "The hair on the heads of men was black and a majority of them had their hair well tended and smoothened with cocoanut oil, so that it was difficult to accurately note its characteristics. Some of the men had curly hair, some woolly, and others had straight hair. The Kadar women so tended and smoothened the hair with cocoanut

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oil that they looked like low country caste Sudra women in the plains. The hair is tied into a knot behind". Writing in 1937, Guisende says, "In Kadar ladies who oil their hair, the long head hair runs straight in flat waves ending in broad locks. He saw no filfil (pepper-corn) type of hair".

Four decades later in 1965, I see among the Urali, the Malapantaram, and other tribes, the disappearance of spirally curved hair consequent on the tending of hair by the oiling process. The observations of early anthropologists on the existence of frizzly hair in larger number may be taken at their face value. Modern civilizing influences tend to the disappearance of the frizzly hair among the Kadar, the Urali, the Kanikkar, and others. There are very few persons who possess frizzly hair among the Urali, the Malapantaram, the Paliyan, the Mannan, and the Kanikkar. Samples of hair have been collected by me from the above tribes. They are being subjected to microscopic examination and the results will be duly published.

Regarding the Negro infiltration among the Kadar, Guha has forcibly clinched the issue by saying, "Dense forests form the abode of the tribes. They are inaccessible and it was impossible for any outsider to settle permanently among them. It seems that there is no historical basis for the hypothesis of Negro infiltration into the impenetrable jungles, though Negro slaves were imported into Malabar from the 14th century by the Muslim rulers and the Portuguese. The incidence has to be studied in Malabar and Calicut area and in the wild mountainous tracts of the interior of the Anamalai Hills, Parambikulam, and Travancore hill tracts and cannot be explained by the mixture of Negro slaves". Guha lays special stress on this fact and says that "the presence of the Negritos is widespread throughout the Wynad, Cochin, and Travancore hills and cannot be explained by the mixture of a few alleged Negro slaves. A. K. Mitra and B. K. Chatterjee hold that the Negrito element among the Kadar was brachycephalic or at least mesocephalic, but in its admixture with the long-headed Veddoid race, which forms the dominant element among the Kadars, so to say, the head became elongated."

Writing in 1958, A. Sharma quotes C. S. Coon, an American erudite anthropologist who says, "Some of the Kadars are Negri-

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tos in skin colour, hair form, facial features, and short stature." His impressions were, "Some of the Kadar whom he saw in a single community were essentially Negrito, others looked Veddoid or Australoid or in between. India has her Negrito, but they are few and scattered." The photo published by him shows that the Kadar body type is different from that of the Negroes, who have longer legs, shorter trunks, a point that can be best observed and verified from Martin. No abler testimony is needed to confirm the existence of a Negrito strain. I agree with his conclusion that there is evidence of Negrito ancestry among the aboriginal elements in Kerala. Further light will be thrown by me to set at rest the present controversy.

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Final Triumph of the Dutch and end of the Portuguese Domination in Malabar

BY

DR. T. I. POONEN, M.A., Ph.D.

(continued from Vol. XLIII, Part II, August 1965)

It was now of the utmost importance that the Dutch obtained mastery over the sea. By that the Dutch could cut off the supply to the interior. The prince Godavarma who had emigrated to Anjikaimal feared that by this procedure the town might be deprived of all eventual necessaries, even of the sulphur necessary for the preparation of gunpowder. The Dutch did not arrange for sufficient vessels to cut off that supply.

At the same time this Godavarma re-established close relations with Purakkad. Godavarma who still had not given up the hope of becoming king of Cochin with the help of the Portuguese tried to get himself acknowledged in the lands belonging to Cochin. He came to the town because he thought he had got rid of his rival, the Moottatavazhi. The latter, after the resumption of the siege, had, on the request of Van Goens, sailed with the sloop *Caliture* to Quilon. Also, he could this time serve as a suitable working instrument for the United East India Company.

At Quilon he was apparently offered a very friendly welcome by the Signatty and other Malabaree magnates. During his journey from that place to Van Goens' army camp, he, however, died suddenly; also his brother likewise became suddenly ill and the Dutch entertained suspicions that both were poisoned at Quilon. Johan Nieuhof who exercised authority at Quilon and who himself received the prince in the Dutch lodge relates nothing about a possible poisoning probably from a sense of guilt. On the contrary, according to him the Moottatavazhi prince was already unwell even while staying with the Dutch. For the recovery of health, he sought permission to go to the palace of the Signatty and, although Nieuhof at first raised objections, he, nevertheless,

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allowed the prince to depart. The well known sad end of the prince was the result of this step. Presumably, for washing himself clean as much as possible of the fault which led to this death, Nieuhof passed over this rumour in silence.

Shortly before his death the Moottatavazhi had once more affirmed to Van Goens that all the pepper from Cochin and dependent kingdoms as also of Purakkad should be delivered only to the Company.

For breaking the connection between Godavarma and Cochin and at the same time to ensure the safety of their own supplies from the land of Vatakkunkur and Tekkenkur, the Dutch under command of the Senior Merchant Van Weerden with four Companies of soldiers under Captain Welouw made themselves masters of the small fort Castello, situated 1½ (Dutch) miles to the south of Cochin on the river at a very good point. Also during the previous expedition they had, to their advantage, this fortification in their hands. The Dutch hoped that, afraid of being cut off, Godavarma had left the island of Bolgatty for them. This would mean a very heavy loss for the food supply of Cochin as it was principally from this island that Godavarma supplied the town with provisions and military reinforcements. Indeed 150 of his soldiers found themselves in Cochin and a still very much greater number could be sent to the assistance of the Portuguese. The supply was effected secretly in small boats without the Dutch being able to obstruct. With the help of the King of Purakkad, he made the entire river unsafe. The capture of Papen island by the Dutch soldiers under the command of Captain Hendrick Van Rheede which took place immediately afterwards gave the Malabaree allies courage and with the help of the Nayars of the Zamorin, Cranganore and the Paliyatteer, Godavarma was driven out of the island of Mulagad. Through the occupation of the Papen island and Mulagad, Cochin was entirely shut out from the outside world. Now, Godavarma had yet to be driven out of Añjikaimal. Already, before the capture of Mulagad, the Dutch had at night made a surprise attack on Purakkad and thus brought distress to Godavarma. First for this purpose some vessels were brought through the river between Cochin and Vypeen. The bargeman Pieter Koker made a surprise attack on the vessels of Purakkad and made himself master of three of them but not without loss of Dutch folk. The Dutch had now

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in possession thirteen rowing boats with which they decided further to make an attack on Purakkad for seizing small vessels. The bargeman Rut Jacobsz Buys and the provisional Captain Roelof de Roer were put in charge of this expedition. They received orders not to land but to compel the enemy by cannon fire to hand over their small vessels. As one of their ships ran aground, the Dutch did not come in the vicinity of the enemy before day-break. In spite of this De Roer risked a landing and had there a fighting place where the Dutch remained master of the field, but it cost them twenty dead. Also, De Roer was mortally wounded. After this defeat in which they lost 15 men, the Nayars of Purakkad retreated with their vessels and left to the Dutch the mastery of the inland waterways without the Portuguese daring to hinder them with their frigates.

Although Godavarma had suffered great losses, he was not yet beaten and could hardly be completely defeated if the Dutch risked a landing on the opposite side.

After the capture of Mulagad, Van Goens insisted that six companies of soldiers under the command of Hendrick Van Rheede and Isaac de St. Martin should be made available for a similar expedition. The Zamorin, the King of Cranganore and the Paliyatteer, of whose enmity to Godavarma, now that blood was once shed, the Dutch were more convinced promised help. Together with their Nayars the Dutch should risk the attack on Anjikaimal. It was with great apprehension that men in the army council decided on the carrying out of this expedition for which a large number of soldiers had to be drafted from the besieging army. What turned the scale was that so long as Godavarma remained in Anjikaimal, he made the whole river unsafe and no supply of the provisions could be expected for the Dutch from this land. Moreover the Company's small ships were not numerous enough to offer resistance if the Portuguese still sailed with 4 to 5 of their frigates and united themselves with the ships of Purakkad. The possession of Papen island would then have no more importance for the Dutch.

If the Dutch captured Anjikaimal, then the Zamorin's Nayars would keep this land occupied. A good outcome would raise the

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reputation of the United East India Company with their Malabaree allies not a little.

From Mulagad the Dutch army landed in the friendly Vaduthala, situated in the land of Repolim (Idapalli) the Raja of which place was very favourably disposed towards the Company. Marching from there along the shore, they wished to make a surprise attack on Godavarma. No less than 2000 Nayars joined the Dutch troops. Although the King of Purakkad had now equipped anew for the assistance of Godavarma 28 vessels which had arrived in Anjikaimal one day before the Dutch landing, the enemy fled at the first charge of the Dutch, not only Godavarma and his Nayars but even the soldiers of the Portuguese with their vessels. Godavarma again sought asylum with his old friend, the king of Purakkad. The entire land of Anjikaimal fell to the Dutch. With the lord of this land was concluded on the 4th January 1663 an agreement whereby he was accepted as a friend and ally of the United East India Company. The inhabitants, by right the subjects of Cochin, since that day furnished the Dutch army with provisions. The monarch of Repolim (Idapalli) granted to the Company a pepper monopoly. Also from this land victuals flowed abundantly to the Dutch.

As the enemy restricted himself to a strong defence of his town and did not hazard an attack outside his walls and ramparts, it did not come to a fight and the Dutch completed their defence works. The Portuguese had on the east side where the town was narrowest at the so-called point Calvetty thrown up a palisade of earth as here they rightly expected a break-through.

The Dutch quarter on this side was now within pistol shot of this bastion. The enemy exerted all their power by a heavy firing from the trenches to hinder the approach of the Dutch. Owing to this many soldiers were killed. A creek of the river situated between Calvetty and the Dutch quarter became serviceable to the Portuguese. With the help of sacks filled with earth the Dutch tried to fill up this water and in this way to take possession of a tumbling down building, situated round about the water, a stone throw distance from the town, which earlier had served as a pepper warehouse. The strong flood-tide burst the dam of sacks to the joy of the Portuguese who made fun of this "sacks day".

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While the Dutch were still busy with this, the enemy himself took possession of this "pepper warehouse", brought there some soldiers and artillery and with these shot straight at the Dutch trenches. As answer the Dutch erected a battery of four half kartonus and with this fired at the pepper warehouse as well as at the bulwark Calvetty while after the completion of the trenches other batteries also were made ready. Seven weeks' labour was required for this.

Three batteries were placed near the shore in the quarter of Hustaert. Four in the quarter of Van Goens were directed against the bulwark St. Lazarus and three against Calvetty, altogether armed with 28 metal pieces.

Before the Dutch proceeded to a general bombardment, they wished first to make themselves masters of the pepper warehouse as this hindered very much the approach to Calvetty. Through heavy cannonade they succeeded in bringing down the walls of the pepper warehouse. They now decided to capture it completely.

Rut Jacobsz was chosen as the head of the soldiers who were to take this building. On the 31st December morning, after a heavy rain at night, men went forth in five vessels. The enemy had been continually wakeful here, but just against the break of day, the soldiers had fallen asleep so that the Dutch found only a sentry awake. The surprise attack took place so quickly that almost no resistance was offered while from all other sides the town was shelled from the Dutch trenches. Speedily the enemy was driven away completely from the pepper warehouse. Of the garrison of 28 Portuguese, 8 men were killed or taken prisoners, among them a well-known captain. The others sprang into the water and fled. The piece of artillery which the Dutch found there they immediately directed towards the enemy who vainly tried by a continuous cannon fire to drive the Dutch from the position which the latter had captured from them. The loss of the pepper warehouse so frightened the Commander of Cochin, Ignatio Sermento, that he, as deserters informed Van Goens, pulled his beard out of grief.

Meanwhile the rain ceased and the marshy ground dried up. The trenches became better serviceable and all the batteries were

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placed in position. After the Dutch had observed a general prayer day, the artillery thundered unimpeded for forty-eight hours on the town. More than 50,000 pounds of gunpowder was used in firing. Breaches were made by the cannonade in three different places, i.e., in the bastions Gratia, Lazarus and Calvetty. Now that the situation progressed so favourably for them, the army Council under the presidency of Van Goens and of which Jacob Hustaert, the Sergeant Major Du Pon, the ship captain Adriaan de Gilde, Christian Poolman, Barent Van Schuylenburg, Adriaan Schimmelpennick, Gerrit Welouw, Hendrick van Rheede, Isaak de St. Martin, Johan Bax and Barent Harmansz were members, unanimously decided on storming instead of continuing still longer the siege and forcing the town to surrender through hunger. The latter course would have meant loss of precious time. Also, it was well known that the Portuguese could for long stand a hunger blockade. Besides the stock of ammunition was not sufficient to continue shelling the town so heavily. They had now only 30,000 pounds gunpowder. The good season was already half over while they had readily released the Company's costly ships for other uses.

The small corner of the town with the bulwark Calvetty was considered to be the best place for a storming. Further it was decided to storm St. Lazarus also. The storming of Calvetty was under the command of Van Goens; that of St. Lazarus was placed under Hustaert. The one was to take place a little after the other. But Van Goens and Hustaert agreed that if the storming of Calvetty succeeded, that of St. Lazarus need not take place. Van Goens explicitly ordered not to undertake anything further than the capturing of the bastions and not to break through to the town. Two companies of soldiers and two companies of sailors, each company consisting of sixty men, under the ship captains Jacob Boom and Rut Jacobsz Buys were to make the first attack while yet eleven companies ready for battle were to remain behind in the trenches for defence.

Before men moved to the storming, the town was not summoned to surrender as the Dutch always took the view that the siege was not broken since the spring of 1662, and, since in the previous year they had twice summoned the town to surrender, they judged they were acting in complete conformity with the law of war by not making a fresh call to surrender.

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In order to put the enemy on a wrong track and decoy his people as far as possible to the sea coast, Captain Schimmelpennick received orders to penetrate to the level ground near the breaches made by the firing and to drive the enemy here. At the time of the storming a heavy salvo should be directed against the town. Over the batteries near the bastions St. Lazarus and Gratia the ship captain Adrian de Gilde obtained the command while Lundert Roos commanded near Calvetty. All sailors were called in to keep the bastions in possession after they were taken. Further, before the storming, all necessaries were made ready so that no palisades, shutters, baskets filled with earth, shovels, spades and axes should be lacking. Meanwhile Abraham Verspreet and the ship captain Reynier Reyniersz should exercise supervision over the fleet.

On the 6th January 1663, in the hottest part of the day, with low water so that men could cross easily, the Dutch marched forward. Van Goens sent the bargeman Jacob Boom in advance with 60 sailors who carried firepots and hand grenades. Of these sailors, one half was to escalade the rampart and the other half to leap into the breach. Nine pieces of artillery were loaded, and under the shelter of the smoke, Captain Bax marched to the rampart with one company while the Sergeant Major, Du Pon, one of the ablest of Van Goen's army Commanders, went with two companies straight to the breach. These soldiers climbed up the ramparts and at first met with some resistance. Subsequently they drove out the enemy from here after one company was sent as reinforcement. The Portuguese came to relieve the threatened point as a result of which Du Pon found himself in a dangerous position. But he and his men maintained a courageous pose. Many were killed. Van Goens now sent two companies further under Captain Welouw, the Sergeant Major, to help. There was kindled a vehement fight on which depended the loss or preservation of the town. Therefore the enemy did not refrain from subsequently sending continuously under the command of his leading fidalgoes auxiliary troops which were among his best soldiers. But from the nearby situated batteries the Portuguese were so vehemently greeted through the breaches by the Dutch with stone balls that the place where the fighting took place was speedily sown with the killed. The Dutch obtained the upper hand especially when the seventh company under the personal command of

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Van Goens threw itself into the bustle of the combat. However, Van Goens prevented his soldiers from breaking through further into the town as they wished to content themselves first with the small outlet so that from there they could force the rest to surrender. The losses at Calvetty were so serious that Van Goens wished to spare his men. Therefore the assault on the breach at St. Lazarus was withheld. Of the Dutch 30 died and 90 were wounded and burned through firepots of whom 20 died. The Sergeant Major to whom the greatest credit for the capture of the rampart was due was wounded in two places. Captain Welouw was shot in a bone. He like lieutenants Ketting and Carel Louyssen and besides two ensigns, died of their wounds. Captain Box and bargeman Boom, three lieutenants and two ensigns were also included among the wounded men.

The enemy had, however, suffered still worse losses. The best of his soldiers were killed. 139 of them were already counted dead by the Dutch. Among them was the *Capitano Mor* (Captain Major), the valiant son-in-law of the Commander Sermento. During the time of the combat, many dead were carried away and buried by the Portuguese. After the surrender Sermento declared that the fight had cost them over 200 men among whom even the wounded were not included.

Surrender of Cochin

When against the evening the fight grew worse, the required order was issued by Van Goens himself not only to keep the captured places, but also from there to break through into the town. The thirteen captured pieces of artillery were directed against their previous owners. The roads which led to the town were closed. Afterwards they set up a battery so that they might fire at the town. But this appeared to be no more neceessary as next morning, the 7th January 1663, the Portuguese Sergeant Major came in the Dutch camp with a peace flag. In the name of his governor he requested permission for two commissaries to go over there and negotiate. This was permitted and at midday there appeared before Hustaert two Portuguese with letters of credence from Ignatio Sermento, namely, Francisco Gomez, Captain of a company of infantry and Marcus Pinho, citizen of Cochin, the first on behalf of the military and the other in the name of the citizens. They declared that the town of Cochin

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could no longer be defended. They therefore requested that they be permitted to surrender on the terms which Van Goens had offered in the previous year. This request did not come to the Dutch unexpectedly. But the Dutch refused and replied to the Portuguese messengers that the Dutch would enter into a treaty only as with the vanquished. The Dutch could give them no other answer. If they did not agree with this, they could immediately return to the town. Then the ambassadors requested that they might be permitted to depart to Goa with all their ammunition, artillery, goods, women, children and slaves in their own vessels. This request was also repulsed. The Dutch indeed wished to treat the Portuguese as brave soldiers, but still exclusively as defeated people. They were told that the cessation of hostilities would not last longer than the sunset. The delegates availed themselves of the time allowed and on the same evening the agreement of surrender was concluded by Hustaert as proxy of Van Goens. The treaty shows great harmony with the instrument of surrender of Jaffnapatam. After a siege of three months, the Dutch stepped out as victors in the combat.

Terms of the treaty of surrender of Cochin

Articles of agreement made and concluded between E. Francisco Gomes Sermento, Captain of a Company of Infantry, besides Marco de Phino, burger of Cochin, delegate of Ignatio Sermento de Carvalho, Captain General of the town of Cochin, on behalf of His Majesty the King of Portugal, on the one side, and Mr. Jacob Hustaert, Councillor Extraordinary of India, representative of the General Rijcklof van Goens, Ordinary Councillor of India on the other side.

1. The town of Cochin shall be surrendered with all its jurisdictions, old privileges, revenues, lands with the documents and papers relating thereto, and whatever else is held in the name of the King of Portugal, all rights and titles thereto being ceded to the Dutch General or His Worship's representative.

2. All artillery, ammunition, merchandise, victuals, movable and immovable property, slaves, and whatever else there may be shall be handed over as above.

3. All free persons who have worn arms shall swear not to serve against the Netherlands in India for two years.

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4. All the soldiers and others belonging to the army shall march out with flying colours, drums beating, fuses alight, bullets in their mouths, and two guns to a convenient place outside the town and lay down their arms beneath the standard of the General.

5. All true-born unmarried Portuguese shall be conveyed to Europe *via* Batavia.

6. All married Portuguese and Mestics (assimilated half castes) shall proceed to Goa and may take their bed and bedding and such other articles as the General and his Council may permit.

7. All free Topasses (semi-assimilated half castes and Indians) and Canarins (Konkannis) shall remain at the disposal and discretion of the General.

8. The clergy may take with them their images and church ornaments except those of gold and silver.

9. All free persons and all persons belonging to the church now wandering in the country shall, if they be subjects of the King of Portugal, be comprehended in this treaty.

The next day the gates of the town were opened for the Dutch and the treaty was confirmed by Ignatio Sermento de Carvalho and Rijcklof van Goens.

At midday soldiers and citizens, about 1400 in number, came outside and laid down their weapons under the flag of the United East India Company. Of the about 700 soldiers who formed the strength of the garrison at the arrival of the Dutch only 300 still remained. The Dutch allowed the disarmed Portuguese to go to the town again while the Dutch army still remained outside for a whole day. Before making the entry, Van Goens sent three Commissarises (Directors) for gathering the burgers and clergy whom, according to the treaty of surrender, the Dutch could claim. In the principal houses and churches guards were placed by Van Goens for security. The King's warehouses were sealed and sailors were brought to hinder a savage plundering by the soldiers and to prevent deeds of violence in a conquered town where there were twice as many women as men. Baldaeus describes for us Van Goens' entry. "Standing on a spirited horse and clothed in his costliest garments, he rode as victor to the gate and afterwards to his lodging place. In the big church originally belonging to the Jesuits, the thanksgiving service for this 'glorious' victory was held."

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Although the capture of Calvetty had accelerated the surrender of the town, even without the defeat the enemy could not have held out longer. Especially there was a shortage of lead and musket balls. The Dutch indeed found still about 13,000 pounds gun powder. Besides they captured 73 pieces of artillery and 17 falconetts,[1] altogether a fairly considerable number but still few if they took into account the wide circumference of the town and the many earthen ramparts that had to be defended with these guns. As provisions for the soldiers the Dutch found still about 40 lasts paddy and a little salted fish in stock. The booty proper was not much. It appears that the inhabitants of the town who had foreseen the coming defeat had in time sent away their valuables, money and goods or that by reason of the already prolonged cessation of navigation and trade had become very poor. The money which the Dutch Commissarises had collected was so little that it was not considered enough to be put into the Company's cash office. Silver wares to the value of about 14,000 reals were chiefly brought together by the clergy. About 1400 bales of pepper weighing 160,000 pounds were with difficulty collected from all possible places. Besides the slaves and the artillery this silver and the pepper constituted the most important booty.

To the soldiers both in the first siege and in the second siege a portion of the booty was promised on their victory so as to reconcile them with their very troublesome work. This promise had to be fulfilled. The Dutch wished that they did not run into the danger of soldiers resorting to plunder. Therefore from the silver taken as booty 2 and 3 reals were presented to each soldier and 4 to each corporal and 8 reals to each sergeant. On the whole the Company had thus to spend 7000 reals. The ensigns, lieutenants, bargemen and captains had to be rewarded with slaves. A plundering was in this way avoided and Van Goens reaped the thanks of the Portuguese who showed much gratitute to the Dutch for the treatment they had experienced at their hands.

Already immediately after the victory, some lieutenants who had conducted themselves bravely were promoted to the rank of

1. Small Calibre ship guns. The falconett was the smallest kind of field artillery

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provisional captains, also the oldest lieutenant, Isaac de St. Martin, Roelof de Roer who, however, to their astonishment, died and Barent Hermensz.

The entire second siege and the capture of Cochin cost the Dutch more than 300 old soldiers among whom were included three captains who were tested soldiers, namely Pieter van Anden, Gerrit Welouw, and Roelof de Roer, a bargeman, Jacob Croon, and further some lieutenants, ensigns, sergeants, corporals, etc. Besides, there lay in the hospital more than 300 persons who were wounded or burned with fire pots. To these were to be added still 500 persons who could render no service as they suffered from beriberi, the consequence of heavy earth-work in the marshy ground in rain and cold in which some stood whole nights up to their knees in the salt water.

The enemy who with great heroism and without any chance of relief kept up to the last a hopeless combat had above 900 dead, imprisoned and wounded; in addition there were 200 clergy and students who all had assisted in the defence of the town. These, reckoned with those who had marched out together made a total of 2,320 soldiers. Such a strength the Dutch army had never possessed. After the appearance of Van Goens the Dutch armed forces on the Malabar coast consisted of about 2,600 persons. Of these there were at Cranganore and Palliport 180, at Quilon 120, in Vypeen 200, at Castello 25, and in the temple and palace of the Cochin King 70 to 80. The force occupying the Papen island consisted at most of 1 to 3 companies so that the Dutch did not have, in front of the town of Cochin, more than 2,000 soldiers.

Although the Dutch found the Portuguese Commander a puffed-up and proud guest, still they fully appreciated his particularly brave conduct in trying to keep the town for his King. He was a man who had fought hard and revived even in defeat the memories of Pacheco and Albuquerque.

Sermento was treated as generously as possible and the Dutch took from him nothing more than what he himself had handed over. Besides the kaffirs (African negroes) and Canarins (Konkannis), all his slaves and servants, about 59 in number, were left to him. The Portuguese Commander could not swallow his defeat and already, immediately on his return to Goa, requested the Viceroy

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for a strong army for re-taking, by surprise, Cochin from where the greatest part of the army had departed for Cannanore. But in Goa the dejection was all too great and Sermento found no hearing for his audacious plan, the more so as the Dutch fleet from Europe could at any moment appear in front of the coast of India proper.

Movement of the Dutch fleet northwards and the Dutch plans for taking Cannanore

After the capture of Cochin, as speedily as possible, the ships *Swieten, Dorth, Nagelboom, Erasmus* and *Mars* were made ready to serve as convoy for the cargo ships *Goudsblom* and *Achilles* sailing past Goa to Surat and Persia. With these ships, at the same time, the prisoners were transported to Goa under the command of the provisional Commander Verspreet. The transport of 3,500 to 4,000 Portuguese was a difficult matter which had to take place with the greatest circumspection. Against their striking the Dutch had to be vigilant, but no molestation was to be done to them "so that it might be evident to the enemy that we counted honour above life and it was not given to us to desire to violate the same". This Commander, at the same time, received orders on his way to Goa to demand the surrender of the Portuguese fort of Cannanore. The Commander, soldiers and citizens of that place would be permitted free retreat. With the Muhammadan "Adersia" (Ali Raja) Verspreet should conclude a treaty of friendship. Also the Kolathiri should be pressed to enter into friendship with the Company. The carrying out of these negotiations was entrusted to the book keeper, Gulles Tayspil. But in no case was Verspreet to stop in front of Cannanore for more than 24 hours. If the surrender of Cannanore was refused, the Yachts *Geldria* and *Kat* could be left behind. After the discharge of the prisoners and the convoying of the cargoships, Verspreet should await further orders or he should keep the bar of Goa occupied till the end of February. In no case should the Portuguese galleons be allowed to sail. For the purpose, they should further send three ships to Verspreet. When returning from Goa, the ships were to touch Kanara for taking a cargo of rice from there.

To the capture of Goa Van Goens attached no more importance as he believed that this town would in a short time, wholly fall

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into decay as well in the case of the war continuing and the bar remaining occupied by a Dutch fleet as by a conclusion of peace. Neither as a maritime military base nor as a centre of trade was it of any more importance.

The position in Goa was worse than ever as they had now besides to accommodate 4,000 most poor and indigent refugees.

Already, before the surrender of Cochin the ship *Malacca* had been sent to Ceylon for bringing the Governor Van der Meyden to Batavia. As Van Goens and Hustaert must both remain in the army, the supreme authority over Ceylon was temporarily entrusted to Commander Roothaes, it being too dangerous to leave the army without an important leader in case the Commander was killed.

After the departure of Verspreet nine ships still remained in front of Cochin. Of these two had to be rebuilt in the river. The others, with the exception of the ship *Vlissingen* which was to bring to Batavia the reports of Van Goens and Hustaert about their operations on the Malabar coast, were to be used for the performance of the expedition against Cannanore.

The Expedition to Cannanore

The Yachts *Geldria*, the *Kat* and *Morgenstar* sailed with the other five ships of Verspreet to Cannanore. Verspreet demanded the surrender of the fort and the town to the Company and threatened them with total destruction if the Portuguese wished to wait for the Dutch navy and military forces. The Portuguese were not alarmed by these threats and refused to surrender as they counted on getting an auxiliary squadron of 7 frigates which had been sent from Goa to Cochin but could not reach the place in time and had fled before the Dutch ships in the Cannanore harbour. The place had to be attacked by force of arms. Meanwhile it so happened that while Verspreet with his ships went further, the Yachts *Geldria* and *Kat* cruised in front of Cannanore. Purakkad, which during the siege had shown itself to be inimical to the United East India Company by keeping to the side of the Portuguese and by supporting the prince Godavarma who had made off to this land after his flight from Anjikaimal, merited a punitive expedition.

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The Dutch were not agreed among themselves as to which undertaking should be taken up first, that against Cannanore or that against Purakkad. In favour of Purakkad pleaded the fact that the English stayed there in the middle of the kingdom remaining for all time in control of the pepper. The Dutch suspected that from there they would encourage the King in his resistance. If the Company wished to be the master of the pepper monopoly, then they had to drive them from there. Because of the overt enmity which Purakkad had shown, the Company was certainly entitled to wage war against that land. Besides the King was a vassal of the King of Cochin and from old times was under obligation to let all the pepper of his land to be transported to Cochin where alone this pepper was to be weighed, shipped and transported from so that the Cochin monarch might not lose his export duties.

To use the military force still further to the north for the siege of the very strongly fortified Diu which also the Lords Seventeen would have been very glad to see in Dutch possession was considered inadvisable by Van Goens and his Council. This town could not be captured by assault, and by siege it could be taken only if they cut off the supply of provisions. This would mean a considerable time passing longer than the Dutch could remain before the setting of the rainy season. Moreover they could not spare sufficient ships as a certain number must remain occupying Goa. Rumours prevailed that the Portuguese wished to send a galleon to Europe. Was it not very dangerous to fritter away the Company's naval forces and thus "imperil what is certain for what is uncertain and take more than we can grasp?" But the foremost reason why they dropped the plan for capturing Diu was the great weakening of the Dutch Militia. After the occupation of Cochin with a garrison of 800 men and the sending of 600 soldiers to Ceylon and 100 to Coromandel for securing those places properly, there were not enough soldiers to think of a siege of Diu.

As the Yacht *Vlissingen* with the news of the memorable achievement reached Batavia just after the departure of the return fleet to the Netherlands, Van Goens sent on the 23rd January the Yacht the *Meyboom* to the Cape of Good Hope with the direction, if it still might meet the return fleet, to deliver the reports of Van

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Goens for the Lords Seventeen. On the delivery of the mails overland through Persia, men could not firmly rely.

At first Van Goens did not wish to return to Batavia, but he was permitted at his own request to assume provisionally the Government of Ceylon that he might put into practice his proposals which had been considered impracticable by his predecessor, Van der Meyden, on the condition, however, that, if his wife did not wish to go to Ceylon, he should be discharged from that Government. To the carrying out of a war expedition he did not, however, feel more competent and sufficiently strong. After the business on the Malabar coast was finished, Hustaert was to obtain the post of Governor of Coromandel. But Lady Van Goens showed no inclination to undertake the voyage to Ceylon and therefore Van Goens was scarcely in Ceylon before he wished to go back to Batavia. This indeed brought to the High Government embarassment for finding a suitable successor. In his place they then appointed Jacob Hustaert as Governor of the island and the dependent Malabar coast.

But before Van Goens departed from Malabar, the last remains of Portuguese power had to be destroyed and many other matters had also to be arranged.

The attack on Cannanore

As the Raja of Purakkad was afraid of the preparations which the Dutch had made for a march to his land, he offered peace and requested the Company to mediate between him and his overlord, the King of Cochin. Van Goens and his Council now decided not to postpone any longer the expedition to Cannanore. The negotiations which had been begun with the Zamorin did not permit Van Goens himself to be placed at the head of the expedition. Therefore, on the 1st February 1663, Jacob Hustaert sailed with the ships *Noteboom, Louyse, Muyden* and *Vlieland* manned with about 1,200 soldiers and not less than 800 sailors besides Sinhalese to the last Portuguese stronghold on the Malabar coast.

Well known Captains like Du Pon and Van Rheede took part in the expedition. The King of that land, the Kolathiri, had, in a letter written to the Cochin claimant, the Moottatavazhi, promised to place himself on the side of the Dutch against the Portuguese.

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Therefore, the Senior Merchant, Lucas Van Weerden, was already sent in advance to enter into a contract with the King. But when Van Weerden reached Cannanore, he learned that the King was dead. This King, besides the above-mentioned letter written to the Moottatavazhi, had, after the capture of Cochin, promised support to the Dutch for the capture of the Portuguese fort at Cannanore on condition that he should obtain a portion of the booty and the captured artillery. His successor left the affairs to the oldest hereditary prince and allowed himself to be bought up by the Portuguese for 1,000 rondollars for hindering the landing of the Dutch. If the Dutch still succeeded to land, then he would make a surprise attack on them with 20,000 men. The Company, however, found a friend in the Muhammadan prince, Ali Raja or Adersia, who possessed his "bazaar" to the northside of Cannanore. He promised to remain neutral and even promised support in the form of vessels and provisions for the army.

On the 9th February Hustaert came in front of Cannanore. Two days later the army landed a mile to the north of the townlet. The natives offered some resistance, but were defeated by Hustaert with little trouble although the fight cost the Dutch three dead and some wounded. These natives who had for the first time faced a European army had actually already 15 dead and still more wounded. They dared nowhere to make a stand any longer. "The money of the Portuguese was thus badly spent."

Unhindered, Hustaert was able to put up his camp at midday under the shelter of a thick cocoanut grove within musketshot of the town. Cannanore was situated on a rocky point stretching out into the sea, for the most part unapproachable. On the landside lay a small suburb protected by five round outworks and a wall which stretched from one side of the water to the other.

The next day Hustaert brought two cannon on land. With these in a few hours the principal rondeel[2] was shot to ruins. Immediately he marched the army to this wall and caused the artillery to be placed there. With a mere 50 soldiers and 20 sailors Hustaert managed hereupon to make himself master of the suburb. On this occasion the Dutch met but little resistance from the enemy. Now the Dutch wished to proceed to the storming, but

2. Rondeel = A figure or object of a round shape.

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they found out that between the town proper and the suburb the enemy had hewn out in the rocks a dry moat no less than 20 feet deep and 60 feet broad stretching out from one shore to the other. Besides, on the other side there was no berm[3] but the fortifications started straight from the ditch on the brink (of the precipice). Thus there was a precipice which men could climb up only with very long ladders.

To the great astonishment of the Dutch, no advantage was however, taken by the Portuguese of this strong position. As they had levelled the cocoanut groves and outworks with rondeels and houses the Dutch would find it impossible to draw near over that rocky ground. There they could make no trenches. If the Portuguese had brought heavy artillery from the sea-side to the land-side, then the Dutch would certainly have been compelled to evacuate the small suburbs. Now they could still on the same day plant cannon in the houses and therewith fire the whole night on the Portuguese defensive works especially on those of the most southerly rampart. The next day, the 1st February, still better order was maintained about the firing, and men directed their mortars on the enemy. But, when the Portuguese saw this and noted that they with their cannon fire could effect no damage to the Dutch, they hung out the white flag. The commander Anthony Cardoso surrendered the fort and town to the Dutch. So the Portuguese lost in little creditable manner the first town they had taken possession of in India and where they had been settled for 160 years. Anthony Cardoso was beheaded in Goa on the orders of the Viceroy as he had surrendered the fortress without reasonable cause or excuse.

Nearly the same terms were granted to the Portuguese at Cannanore as those at Cochin. Here also there followed the entire surrender of the town, the fort and the territory of Cannanore with "all their artillery, ammunitions of war, royal goods with all their appurtenances, merchandises, minted and unminted gold and silver vessels and provisions".

The Portuguese renounced all rights, tolls and other royal incomes under which were included all immovables—King's and pri-

3. Berm = ledge in fortification between ditch and base of parapat. Ledge = narrow horizontal surface projecting from the wall.

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vate goods. The Portuguese should place in the hands of the Dutch all registers pertinent thereto. All goods should be surrendered to the Dutch.

The Portuguese Commander of the fort might take as many slaves and goods as the Commander permitted him.

All married Portuguese and natives were sent with their families to Goa with those possessions which the Commander permitted them to take with them. All unmarried Portuguese should be sent to Europe *via* Batavia.

All those who had borne the King's weapons must promise not to fight against the Dutch nation for two years.

Under these terms should also be included the Portuguese who had fled to the interior.

An amplifying clause allowed those Portuguese who had sent their wives and children to the interior for safety to fetch them back and bring to Cannanore so that from there they might be transported to Goa. Two persons of name should remain surety for their coming back.

Also the clergy were sent to Goa. They could take with them their ecclesiastical ornaments.

All slaves should be delivered up in the hands of the Company.

Lastly the Portuguese garrison of the fort could, with complete armour, flying standards, burning torches, bullets in the mouth and beating trumpets, march out to lay down their weapons in front of the flag of the Company.

After the surrender 200 white Portuguese marched out at mid-day from the town. Of these, 120 hailed from the seven frigates which had been sent from Goa for relief. This victory cost the Dutch only six dead and twenty wounded.

The booty of the Company consisted of 22 pieces of artillery including 15 metal pieces and 2 falconetts, 80 bales of pepper, 25 bales gumlac and 600 bales rice. Most of the married Portuguese had their wives, children and possessions sent inland under the escort of all Franciscan monks. The Dutch soldiers could not therefore obtain much booty.

When the Dutch went inside the town, it first appeared to them very clear how strong it was with a situation which had no

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match in the whole of India though Cannanore had been considered as a place and fort of little importance. Though it was unapproachable round about already by the rocks themselves, the Portuguese had fortified these rocks on the landside by attaching walls and flankers without sparing cost or labour. Deviating from the order given by his superiors to establish only a commercial lodge at Cannanore, Hustaert decided to leave a garrison there provisionally. By reason of its natural strengthening, dismantlings, even if it were possible, would, with so few men available, last months and would have little sense while the place would still remain inaccessible. If the Dutch did not defend it, then, after the departure of the fleet, it would easily fall back into the hands of the Portuguese. Also the English could alone or in combination with the Portuguese find here a fulcrum. And for the United East India Company it was least to be desired that the Muhammedan merchant prince, the Ali Raja, could make himself master of the town. He had nevertheless already requested Hustaert and Van Goens that the fortress might be delivered to him so that he might keep it, as he put it, for the Company, but in point of fact to protect his trade and ship-loads against the United East India Company with force of weapons. By abandoning Cannanore the Company would moreover be risking the obtaining of a monopoly of the purchase of pepper and cardamom and of the supply of opium. This trade in pepper, cardamom and opium was till now prosecuted unhindered by Adersia (Ali Raja). It was not to be supposed that without fort and without soldiers the Company could push this trade over against these Muhammadans. With the loss of Cannanore the damage the Company would suffer in their trade would not be limited to that place but would be felt in the entire Malabar trade. A flourishing contraband trade in pepper would easily come into existence in that place. Only the retention of the fortress can protect the Company's trade. Further the levying of fees for passes, a right which the Dutch had inherited from the Portuguese, was feasible only under armed protection. All this loss which the Company would suffer by abandoning the fort certainly balanced against the expenses which a garrison of 100 soldiers would bring with it. Even if the balance was equal, the Company's reputation demanded the retention of the fort. "Winning and not retaining breeds little respect." Cannanore would serve the Company as a key for the north and

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a frontier against Cochin. It would also help the supervision of the further conquests of the Dutch as also of hostile attacks which people might wish to undertake in Cochin or Ceylon.

The annual pepper export was estimated at 200 lasts. Against that about 1500 pounds opium could be imported. Just as the Portuguese obtained timber for their ship masts from Cannanore the Dutch hoped to have the same advantages.

The Kolathiri, seeing that he was too weak to resist the Company's might, was inclined to accept without conditions the peace that was offered to him at the outset. The renown of Dutch victories had also made the Kolathiri so afraid that he dared not come inside the fortress and had a meeting with the Dutch only in the house of Adersia (Ali Raja). It was written, not by Van Goens, that the terror of the Company's weapons had so far penetrated into the hearts of these natives that children trembled on hearing the names of the Dutch. After Major Du Pon had as a sign of peace offered the hand under promise to have the peace ratified three days later, the King disappeared hastily with his followers in the interior, a brutal respectability, over which Hustaert showed himself little pleased. The winding up of this affair. he had with his departure to leave to the Senior Merchant Van Weerden.

With Adersia also Hustaert attempted to conclude an agreement. To deprive him wholly of the trade was not possible, but by concluding a contract it was proper for the Company to be the most privileged party. They had suffered the costs and perils of the war and they now wished to enjoy the profits. Adersia, being sounded on this, made such high demands that Hustaert remonstrated with him over the absurdity of this and declared that he was not competent to abandon the Company's conquests to others. Adersia then "out of courtesy" sent to the General a piece of white paper so that the Dutch could write therein their demands but the latter understood all too well what they must think of these Moorish compliments and let the matter rather take its course. The ambassadors of Adersia who went with Hustaert to Van Goens were however treated "courteously and friendly". If the Dutch obtained possession of the fort, they could force the door to open itself for the fulfilment of the Company's wishes. The Dutch wished to bring him to the position of a sort of broker of the Company under the condition that the Dutch

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would deliver to him alone all commodities which they brought there or which he should want from them and for a price equivalent to or some what less than what they were sold for at Surat so that first he might be willing to come to terms and that he might be delivered from his other concepts. On his part Adersia must promise to deliver all the pepper and cardamom only to the Company at a previously fixed price while he must give up all navigation to other lands, Surat, Muscat and Bengal. He could preserve only the navigation to the Maldives as there he could do no hurt to the Company. Adersia should be the only merchant with whom the Company should trade in Cannanore. Further, he must prevent these merchandises from being indeed exported by others. During the times when the Portuguese were sufficiently powerful they also had kept this merchant prince under check. Since their fall, Adersia had succeeded in defending such an independent position. The Dutch understood very well that Adersia would not easily renounce his free trade.

After the imprisoned Portuguese were sent from Cannanore with the ship *Louyse* to Goa, Hustaert turned back to Cochin with the remaining ships. On his departure he left behind 200 soldiers at Cannanore and appointed as Director the Senior Merchant Lucas Van Weerden. In front of the coast the Yachts were to remain cruising as long as the monsoon permitted so that the enemy might not make any surprise attack. On the affection of the native population the Company should not rely. Their behaviour was inimical and they hindered the purchase of cardamom by the Dutch. They would immediately choose the Portuguese side if they obtained the chance.

End of Portuguese Domination

The military forces of Hustaert which returned to Cochin were first of all used for relieving and restoring to his kingdom the King of Parur, who, because of his good disposition to the United East India Company, had been driven away by his subjects at the instigation of the Portuguese. The Company considered it of importance that in Parur, a region situated east of Cranganore, there reigned a monarch who was well disposed to the Dutch so that the Zamorin might be prevented from extending his influence further to the south. The land was brought to subjection by the Company and on the 1st March, 1663 a treaty of peace and friendship was brought about.

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For the Company's trade it was of the utmost importance that harmony was restored among the princes of Malabar and the United East India Company concluded advantageous contracts with them.

After the death of the Moottatavazhi, the claimant to the Cochin throne, the Dutch had not themselves hastened to appoint a successor as they were sure that the Zamorin was very much desirous of ascending the Cochin throne which for the Company would portend a very undesirable enlargement of the power of that monarch and besides was very little to the liking of the other Malabar princes and could become a cause of great unrest while the people of Cochin who were very much inimically disposed to the Zamorin would become antipathetic to the Company. While Cochin fort was under siege the Dutch let the question of settling up succession to the Cochin throne remain in abeyance.

After the capture of Cochin the Zamorin's first prince who completely controlled the Zamorin declared, without beating about the bush, that, as Godavarma was driven away with the Zamorin's help alone and the family of the Moottatavazhi had not in the least co-operated, the Cochin throne belonged to the Zamorin. As his smallest move he made a demand on Anjikaimal to keep this land as a conquest. After the capture of the town the Company re-established contact with the old queen. She pointed out an heir who likewise belonged to the family of the Moottatavazhi. In this man who had such obligation to the Company Van Goens hoped to find an equally willing tool as the deceased Vira Kerala Varma.

The Dutch did not agree to the demand of the Zamorin's prince. They pointed out to the Zamorin who himself had guaranteed the maintenance of the Moottatavazhi on the Cochin throne, the illegality of his demand. By appearing in strength, the Dutch finally made the Zamorin agree to the crowning of the new Cochin monarch and the evacuation of Anjikaimal by the Zamorin's troops. But now the old prince (1st prince) made claims on the island Vypeen and desired an annual tribute of ¼ of all the income of the lands of Cochin and a free passage through the whole land. Only by threats did Van Goens manage to bring to reason the 'old prince', the greatest instigator of all the troubles—a result to which the capture of Cannanore and the return of the largest portion of the war forces greatly contributed. Yet, for preventing premature new troubles, the Dutch had to make Zamorin contented by presenting him with artillery. While the Zamorin's troops

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abandoned the Cochin lands and also evacuated Vypeen, a treaty was brought about (22-28 February, 1663) between the United East India Company and that monarch, a confirmation of the agreement already concluded on the 7th March, 1662 during the first siege of Cochin.

Already it had been agreed by Van der Meyden with the Zamorin that, after the capture of Cochin, Cranganore would be ceded to him. A request of the Dutch that for the protection of the river they might be allowed to keep a guard in the citadel was rejected by the Zamorin and in a separate treaty dated the 15th February, 1663 made between the United East India Company and the Zamorin with his creature, the King of Cranganore, the cession of the fort and the town was explicitly stipulated.

For the taking of Cranganore the Zamorin came to Cochin with all his hereditary princes and a large retinue of Nayars. Here the town which was first made as much defenceless as was possible by the Dutch was ceremonially delivered over to the King of Cranganore with 4 iron pieces and 12 metal basses.[4] As proof of the good friendship the Company should appoint a Resident in the Zamorin's land. To this post the junior merchant, Pieter Vertangen who was well informed of the state of affairs in that land was appointed and for this purpose he established himself at Ponnani, to the south of Calicut.

After the cession of Cranganore, the Company obtained only a fortification at Palliport to lock the river of Cranganore and to prevent the export of pepper. In front of this fortress on the northernmost point of the island of Vypeen, there came to lie an armed sloop. The lands of the Zamorin did not produce so much pepper as Cochin, Purakkad, Kayamkulam and Quilon, but yet sufficiently to cause damage to the pepper trade of the Company.

These events and the subsequent understandings of the Dutch with other Malabar princes including the Moottatavazhi prince installed as ruler of Cochin marked the end of Portuguese domination in Malabar. Goa, Diu and Daman however remained in their hand for three centuries, after the lapse of which interval, as is well known, these places were taken possession of by the Indian Republic.

4. Bass = small calibre ship gun.

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Some Aspects of Relations between the Indian and Central Asian Peoples in the Latter half of the 19th Century and Early 20th Century

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The history of political, economic and cultural intercourse between the peoples of India and those of Central Asia goes back to a very remote period. Central Asia was the region through which pilgrims and traders passed from China to India and *vice versa*. Likewise trade routes between the West and the East lay through this region which was an important cross-roads of civilization and commerce before the discovery of the sea routes. Strabo wrote about the flow of Indian goods along the Oxus, the Caspian sea, Transcaucasia and further to the West along the Black Sea coast. The ancient monuments discovered in the modern Soviet Central Asian republics also speak of the close ties that existed between the two peoples.

These political and cultural ties continued during the middle ages. The friendly visits of the Khwarezm scholars, Al Biruni and Abdurazak Samarkandi, form a glorious chapter in the history of these contacts. The relations between the two peoples grew further in the course of 300 years' rule of the dynasty founded by Babar.

On the eve of the Russian conquest of Central Asia a flourishing trade existed between India and this region. Tsarist Russia also maintained relations with India (howsoever casual and irregular these might have been) through the Central Asian Khanates. After the Russian conquest of Central Asia, Bukhara, which was not completely annexed, continued to serve as a link of trade and communication with India. Indian goods worth 5475000 rubles

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were exported to Bukhara annually and from there goods weighing 21000 puds were imported into India.[1]

In the latter half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th there lived in Central Asia six to eight thousand Indian emigrants.[2] A great majority of them, mostly Sindhis and Punjabis, came from Western and North-Western regions of India. A major portion of Indians was concentrated in the Emirate of Bukhara, Farghana Valley, Samarkand and Syrdaria region of Turkestan. Among the Indian emigrants, there were followers of Hinduism, Sikhism and Islam. Muslims constituted a majority of Indian community in Central Asia, whereas non-Muslims were largely concentrated in Turkestan area. Most of the Indians living in Central Asia were money-lenders and traders by profession, though some peasants, craftsmen and other representatives of working people were also present among them.

But these trade relations suffered a set-back in 1885 when restrictions were imposed on Indian goods by the Tsarist Russian administration. In that year a Russian Political Agency was established in Bukhara with instructions to prohibit Anglo-Indian goods into Turkestan. Some concessions were, however, given to the trade of tea, muslin and indigo, but the tariff on Indian tea was raised to 50 per cent. Despite these restrictions the Indian trade in tea, muslin and indigo continued to be sizeable. 700000 puds of Indian tea and 18000 puds of indigo were annually imported into Central Asia.[3] Indians maintained six caravan serais in Bukhara for tea trade alone. The serai of Abdurashid received 3000 camels laden with Indian tea every year, the serai of Mirzagulia 1500 camels and the serai of Badriddin 1200 camels.[4]

A heavy blow was dealt on these trade relations in 1894 when Bukhara and Khiva were incorporated into a common tariff system

1. AVPR, *Sredni Aziatski Stol*, 1869-1910, d., 1341; also *'Turkistan Vilayatining Gazeti'*, 1889, No. 23.

2. G. L. Dimitriev, *Iz Istorii Sredneaziatsko-Indiiskikh Otnoshenii Vtoroi poloviny XIX-nachala XXV* (Indiiskie Vykhodtsi *v* Srednei Azii) Tashkent, 1965.

3. Dokladnia Zapiska B. O. Klemma, *O Sovremmenom Sostoianii torgovli v Bukharskom Khanatve*, 1887, 1.5.

4. *Chainia torgovlia v Bukhare, Turkestanskie Vedomosti*, 1877, No. 16.

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of the Russian Empire. The result was that the Chinese tea replaced the Indian tea and the Indian Peshawari tea merchants were driven out of the tea market.

Although trade between India and this region declined as a result of the Anglo-Russian colonial rivalry, cultural contacts did not cease. An important step in this direction was taken with the establishment in Tashkent on 14th April, 1901 of a branch of the Russian Society for Oriental Studies. The initiative came from such celebrated Russian Orientalogists as A. G. Serebrenikov, A. E. Snesarev, M. V. Grulev, Polovtsev, Losev and others.[5] There appeared text books of Indian languages and Russian-Hindustani dictionary. Considerable interest in Indian affairs was shown by two important papers of Tashkent, the "*Turkistanskie Vedomosti*" published in Russian language and the "*Turkistan Vilayatining*" in Uzbek language. In the latter was published valuable information about the visits of the Uzbek poet Furqat and the traveller Said Ali Khodja to India.[6] Along with the Russian Orientalogists, the Uzbek scholars also took keen interest in the study of Indian languages and culture. In this connection the names of Said Rasul Khodjah, Said Aziz Khodjaey, Tairbek Kiiashbekov and also Khalilutddin Ahmed are worth mentioning. Some specialists were sent to India for practical training in Indian languages.

The impact of the Russian conquest of Central Asia was also felt by the Indian national liberation movement. It aroused in the Indian people a great hope of throwing off the yoke of British colonial oppression. Of course this hope was in the beginning confined to a few rulers of princely states who had no popular aspirations and who sought to utilize the contradictions between the two colonial powers to their advantage. In November 1865 Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Kashmir sent his emissaries to Tashkent to seek Russian aid against the British. This mission did not meet with any success as the Tsarist Government was not interested in promoting the cause of the national liberation of India. It was interested only in its own colonial expansion and for want of adequate material resources did not at the moment feel inclined

5. P. N. Rasulzade, *Iz Istorii Sredniaziatsko-indiskikh sviazei posle prisoedineniia kraia k Rosii*, Avtoreferat, Tashkent, 1964, p. 16.

6. *Turkistan Vilayatining Gazeti*, 1893, No. 20, also No. 33.

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to involve itself into troubles with the mighty British Empire. In 1866 the ruler of Indore also sent a mission to Tashkent with a similar object. This time a number of princely states like Hyderabad, Bikaner, Jodhpur and Jaipur appeared to have united with Indore to get outside help against the British. This mission also met a similar fate.[7] A second mission from Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Kashmir reached Tashkent in June 1870. It was headed by Baba Karama Prakash. But again no political or military help was rendered by Tsarist Russia. It was but natural for the Indian princes and the people to expect support from any quarter, but it is doubtful that the aid of colonial Tsarist Russia, if at all given, would have led to the real liberation of the country. The Tsarist Russia was the 'Gendarme of European Reaction' and the 'prison of nations' and she could hardly be expected to act out of altruistic motives.

Much more important than these missions sent by the feudal princes of India was the mission of Guru Charan Singh which reached Tashkent in 1879. This mission may be described as a popular mission. It had no association with the feudal powers of India. It was sent by the Namdhari Sikhs of the Punjab who wanted to liberate the province from the British colonial rule. Guru Charan Singh undertook this hazardous journey in his seventies and tried to impress the Russian authorities of the need to help the Indian people in their struggle for national liberation. Writing about Guru Charan Singh's mission, N. A. Ivanov, head of the Zeravshan district stressed "the importance of the fact that a part of the population of British India appealed to us to help liberate them from foreign yoke.' He further noted 'that in the speeches of Guru Charan Singh we find such confidence in Russia's power, such belief that we were destined to liberate the Indian people from the hateful domination of Britain that it is impossible to doubt our great moral impact on the population of British India.'[8]

7. For a more detailed account of these missions see N. A. Khalfin's *"Indian Missions in Russia in the second half of the 19th Century"* XXVI International Congress of Orientalist papers by the USSR delegation, Moscow, 1963.

8. State Archives, U.S.SR., f. lop. 34, d. 462, ll. 110-111. For an account of the mission see P. C. Roy's article in *'Problemy Vostokovedenia'*, 1959, No. 4. pp. 77-81.

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The Tsarist Government, however again turned a deaf ear to the request of the Indian patriots. The Tsarist Governor-General of Turkestan, Gen. Kaufmann, gave a non-committal reply couched in a friendly language. Thus the despatch of these missions proved to be of no gain to the national liberation movement in India. Nevertheless they showed that the Indian people had built high hopes upon the Russian aid in their struggle against the British. The visit of Russian warships to Bombay in 1879 saw an upsurge of the liberation movement. People rushed to the city to convince themselves of the presence of the Russian ships. The *Times of India* of May 19, 1879 thus reported the event: "The people began to talk of a quick downfall of the British yoke which would be cast off by Russia and Nana Sahib."[9]

Another significant indication of the hopes pinned upon the Russian aid by Indian patriots is provided by Tilak's overtures to the Russian consuls Tcherkin and Klemm in Bombay. Tilak sought Russian help in sending Indian youths abroad for military training.[10] Tilak also approached the Russian consul in Bombay, seeking introductions to Russian firms in order to purchase machinery for the establishment of Indian factories.[11] Although this appeal to the Russians for economic and technical aid received no response like the appeal for help in military training, yet it is significant that the Indian extremists led by Tilak felt sufficiently confident of the sympathetic response from Russia. The disinclination of the Tsarist Russian Government to render aid to the Indian people also explodes the myth of the "Russian menace to India". This clearly shows that it was an invention of the British to cover up their own intended aggression upon Central Asia.

Just as missions from India went to Central Asia to seek Russian help, so did the missions from Central Asia come to India to seek British help against Russians. In the Indian archives we find information concerning three such missions in the same

9. A. A. Benediktov, *Indiiskoe krestianstvo v* 70-kh *godakh* 20-*goveka*, Leningrad, 1953, p. 127.

10. A. V. Raikov, 'Anglo-Indiiskaia armiya i natsional' noosvoboditel', noe dvizhenie v indii v 1905-1907, godakh, '*Problemy Vostokovedenia*, Moscow, No. 2, 1959, p. 129.

11. Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, II, pp. 215-216.

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period. In the same year, i.e., 1864, when a mission from the Maharaja of Kashmir called upon the Russian Governor-General at Tashkent, a mission from the Khan of Khokand led by Khaja Beg Ishack-ghasee reached India. Sir John Lawrence was then the Viceroy of India. The Khokand mission apprised the British Viceroy of India of the difficulties of the Khan with the Emir of Bukhara and Russia. The British Viceroy regretted his inability to render any help on account of the 'distance' and the 'situation'.[12] The second mission from the Khan of Khokand reached India in 1865. The Khan requested the British India Government to make available to him some experienced artillerymen and military instructors. But the British Viceroy refused to comply with the request.[13] In November, 1866 an envoy from Bukhara arrived in India to seek British aid against Russia.[14] But like the two previous missions, this mission also failed.

It is somewhat strange that the Soviet historians who write so enthusiastically about the despatch of political missions to Russia from India maintain a silence over such missions from Central Asia to India. The failure of the Indian missions is used by them only to prove the fallacy of the theory of a 'Russian menace to India'. Their comments, e.g. 'The Russian ruling classes did not choose to use this opportunity of interfering in the affairs of India',[15] (as if Tsarist Russia was averse to interference in the affairs of other countries) and that 'their realisation, *the realisation of the plans of Indian patriots to seek Russian aid* (italics D. K.) was obstructed by the cautious policy of Russia, the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, the formation of the entente and eventually by the first world war of 1914-18 in which Tsarist Russia was an ally of Britain',[16] hardly explain the real cause of the failure of Indian missions. Not the 'cautious policy' of Tsarist Russia but its colonial and imperialist character really came in the

12. Pol. A, Nos. 238/240, Dec. 1864, Indian Archives.
13. Pol. A. Nos. 151/154, Feb. 1865, Indian Archives.
14. Pol. Progs. 1869, No. 65, Indian Archives.
15. N. A. Khalfin, *Indian Missions in Russia in the Second Half of the 19th Century*, Moscow, 1963, p. 6.
16. P. N. Rasulzade. *Iz istorii Sredniaziatsko—indiiskikh Sviazei*, Tashkent, 1964, pp. 11-12.

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way of her giving aid to the Indian national liberation movement. While it is true that Tsarist Russia for want of adequate resources, conceived no serious plan of invasion of India, no altruistic motives can be attributed to her refraining from doing so. She cannot be said to be free from any aggressive intention upon a large portion of Asia. 'Tsarist Russia', to quote from Lenin, 'desired to plunder Germany, Austria and Turkey in Europe, to beat England in Asia (to snatch away whole of Persia, Mongolia and Tibet etc.)'[17]

The Central Asian missions and the Indian missions, though they had certain resemblances in their objects and nature, cannot be given equal importance. Whereas behind the Indian missions a popular upsurge against the British was clearly visible, the same was wanting in the Central Asian missions. The missions from Central Asia were exclusively and singularly of feudal origin, while even the Indian missions despatched by feudal princes were more broad-based in character and enjoyed a wider measure of popular support than their Central Asian counterparts. The Khokand mission, it may be pointed out, sought British help not only against Russia but also against a neighbourly Central Asian Khanate. Nor did a popular mission like that of Guru Charan Singh from India ever come from Central Asia to India. We should also be not oblivious of the fact of vast difference in the extent and size of the national liberation movements in India and Central Asia. A major national uprising in Central Asia against Tsarist Russia did not take place until 1916, whereas India had risen against the British colonial rule as early as 1857.

The contacts between India and Central Asia which had a long history did not grow freely when the two regions fell under the colonial domination. But for some trade in the third quarter of the 19th century, the political missions enumerated above and some revived interest in the study of language and literature of the two regions, the intercourse betwen the two peoples remained largely inhibited. It was only after the liberation of Central Asia by the great October Revolution in 1917 that this region became a centre of attraction for many Indian freedom fighters who made Tashkent a nucleus of their revolutionary actvities. After 1947 when India attained freedom a new and glorious chapter in the mutual intercourse between the two peoples was opened.

17. V. I. Lenin, Soch. T. 23, izd. 4, p. 116.

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The Artisan Community of Medieval Andhra (A.D. 1000-1600)

BY

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The services of the blacksmith, the stone-mason, the carpenter, the metal worker and the jeweller have always been indispensable to the normal working of any community; more truly so to life in the medieval age. For satisfying the primary creature comforts, the tools and utensils made by the blacksmith and the metal worker and houses erected by the stone mason and the carpenter were necessary. Again the aesthetic impulse of the people as reflected in personal ornamentation required the services of the goldsmith and the silversmith. The artisans not only satisfied the material and the aesthetic needs of the people but even made the stability of the state possible by supplying ornaments to the kings and chiefs of the time. The importance of these vocations was all the more as they could further be associated with the spiritual. For it was these artisans that helped to construct the temples for the gods of the whole community. The social history of this important community of the artisans can be traced with the help of the inscriptions of Andhra area taken in conjunction with the inscriptions of Karṇāṭaka and Tamilnāḍ.

The artisan community of the medieval times everywhere, whether in Karnāṭaka, Tamilnāḍ or Andhra, held the view that they were the descendants of the five sons of Viśvakarma. The name "Pañcāṇamuvāru"[1] applied to the artisan community of Andhra, like the name Pañcāla[2] applied to the artisans of Karnāṭaka is said to be corruption of the word Pañcāṇana (meaning five faces), ascribed by the tradition to the legendary Viśvakarma. Out of them were born five sons named Manu, Maya, Śilpi, Thwas-

1. Inscriptions of the Nellore Dist. (N.D.I.) Vol. III, Udayagiri, No. 21.
2. *A. R. E.*, No. 804 of 1917.

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tra and Viśvagna—Daivagna. These five sons are considered to be the originators of the five crafts—blacksmithy, carpentry, stone-carving, metal work and jewellery.[3] Inscriptions from the Telugu area style this community by a number, as the Seventy-four community.[4] The association of a number with a community was a common practice in the medieval Andhra. Thus the oilmonger community of Andhra was a Thousand community, while the Poṇugoṇḍa Vaiśya community was a Hundred and two community. The purport of this number is not clear; but the number serves as a useful index to the corporate nature of the community referred to.

In a village or a town, the artisan community seems to have lived in a separate quarter.[5] They usually attached themselves to the temples of the locality in which they resided. In fact without the services of these people, the temples could not be maintained. Hence it is that every temple of repute maintained the services of the artisans.[6] As the temple formed the nucleus around which the lives of people revolved, the chiefs and village assemblies of the time took cognizance of the role of artisans and did their best to make the artisans attached to the place. They rewarded them by the grant of land which served to keep them attached to the place. A record of the year A.D. 1104 from Valivēru, Tenali taluk, Guntur District, registers the gift of land to a mason (Kāse) who built Svayambhūdēva temple at Valivēru.[7] The mason, as the inscription states, undertook to do repairs to the temple from time to time. We hear of another such gift in A.D. 1257, to the

3. Triennial catalogue of the Oriental MSS Library, Madras (Vol. III), Part III, R. 294. The work entitled 'Nāgarakhaṇḍamu' described this mythical origin of the artisan community at length. Also the same tradition prevailing in other regions is recorded in "Mysore Castes and Tribes," Vol. IV, Pages 452 ff.

4. *N. D. I.*, Vol. Udayagiri, No. 21. "Prthivi Debbayi Nālugu Ahaṇālu Modalaina Pañcāhaṇamuvāru".

5. A mutilated inscription from Nellore District mentions the street of Añjuvaṇṇattār (Añjuvaṇṇattār-teru) in the town of Krishṇapaṭnam. The word 'Añjuvaṇṇattār' (the five artisan castes) refers in all probability to the Pañcāṇamuvāru community (see A. R. E. 1928 ii, para 36). Another epigraph of the 16th century from Karṇāṭaka area informs that a certain street was earmarked for artisans. (see E. Car, Vol. V, Bl. 5) Pañchāḷadavarige Bēlūralu teṅkana vidi).

6. *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 663.

7. *S. I. I.*, Vol. X, No. 61.

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artisans, who built a *Maṇḍapa* of the temple of Svayambhūdēva at Edavalli, Narasaraopet Taluk, Guntur District.[8] Another inscription from the same Taluk and District, the date of which is missing, states that the villagers granted a piece of land to a goldsmith (Akkasāle) Kāmōju.[9] It may be mentioned here that the artisans usually bore the suffixes of Ōju (Vikriti of Upādhyāya) and Ācāri.

Inscriptions[10] from Palnāḍ Taluk, Guntur District, acquaint us with a famous line of architects who built some temples in the area. They were first mentioned in an inscription from Aingāripālem, written in the characters of the 7th century. It states that the temple of Jalpēśvara was built by one Kalgarābharaṇācārya. The next inscription from the same place mentions Cāmōja, a pupil of the master architect Kalgarābharaṇa who is described as the ornament of the Viśvakarmakula and the ācārya of Jalpēśvarapura.[11] Another interesting inscription from Mācerla of the year A.D. 1101, gives the pedigree of the architects, Nāvōju and Tippōju, who built the Ādityēśvara temple at the place. It is stated therein that, Viśvakarma, the progenitor of the architects, was the son of Brahman and father-in-law of the Sun. Viśvakarma is said to have converted the rays proceeding from the Sun into divine weapons such as the discus of Viṣṇu and the like. Some of the famous 'ācāryas' are enumerated in the inscription and are represented to have been experts in cutting *lingas* of Śiva and in preparing images.

It is also stated that the 'ācāryas' were experts in the building of four kinds of mansions, (*prāsādēṣu caturvidhēṣu*), in grasping geometry involved in the study of *Vāstuśāstra* (architecture), and in gracefully handling the implements of the profession (*Vāstu-*

8. *Ibid.*, No. 356.
9. *Ibid.*, No. 122
10. *A. R. E.*, 331, 332, 333 of 1937.
11. It may be mentioned in this connection that the version of inscription from Aingāripālem (331 of 1936-37) given by Sri N. P. Chakravarti in his Annual report on Archaeology for 1936-37 creates some confusion as to the identity of the Ācārya. He writes thus: "The next important inscription from Palnāḍ Taluk of the Guntur District which is engraved in Cāḷukyan characters of the 7th century A.D. furnishes the interesting information that the temple of Jalpēśa was constructed by the architect Maindarama (Mahēdrarāma) who was otherwise called Kalgarābharaṇācārya, and belonged to Kammakula of the fourth caste".

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kṣetravidaḥ praśasta vacasaḥ).[12] Another inscription from the same place states that two years later, the same architects, Nāvōju and Tippōju, added a *Nāgastambha* to the same Ādityēśvara temple.[13] That all these inscriptions should come from Palnāḍ Taluk of the Guntur District is interesting. In this period, starting as early as 7th century A.D. Palnāḍ must have witnessed a considerable volume of temple building programme. This activity gave birth to the famous line of ācāryas. And it is for this reason, perhaps, that Pemdōta in Palnāḍ, is considered to be the birth place of architects.[14]

If the artisans distinguished themselves thus in the pursuits of peace, some of the members of the community distinguished themselves equally well as captains and generals in the army. In this connection, it may be noted that in the medieval period, the bulk of the army of the ruling dynasties was raised from the members of the fourth caste, and it is this fact that contributed to their recognition at the hands of the kings. According to an inscription from Cēbrōlu[15] of the 12th century, a certain Sūrana of the Viśvakarma community, son of Kannōju and Prōlama, served the chief of Giripaścima country (West of Koṇḍavīdu), King

The first difficulty is about the statement that the architect was called by two names Maindarāma (Mahēndrarāma) and Kalgarābharanācārya. Another inscription from Pondugala, in the same Taluk and District (No. 35 of 1930) which refers to the same event of building the shrine of Jalpēśvara clearly distinguishes between the two persons Maindarāma and Kalgarābharaṇācārya, the first being the donor and the second the master architect.

The second difficulty is about the statement that he belonged to Kammakula of the fourth caste. It is clearly stated in two other inscriptions, one from the same place Aingāripālem (332 of 1936-37) and the other from Pondugala (35 of 1930) that he belonged to Viśvakarmakula. If, on the other hand, in the inscription from Aingāripālem he is said to belong to Kammakula the word can be better interpreted than by stating that the acarya belonged to fourth caste. As pointed by Sri M. S. Sarma we can interpret that he belonged to Viśvakarmakula inhabiting Kammanāḍu. The artisans, like the Brahmins and the Vaiśyas of medieval Andhra might have been sub-divided on territorial basis—Vide M. S. Sarma's History of Reddi Kingdoms: Page, 380.

12. *S. I. I.*, Vol. X, No. 65.

13. *S. I. I.*, Vol. X, No. 66.

14. Palnātivīracaritra, Published by Vavilla Ramaswamy Sastry and Sons Introduction, p. 70.

15. For a critical edition of the inscription, See Bharati Volume 36, Sanchika, II.

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Erṟamaṇḍa, who owed allegiance to the Cōḷa King, Kulōttunga I. Sūrana, as a general of the army, rendered meritorious service to King Erṟamaṇḍa in checking the Western Cāḷukya depradations of his territory. The grateful king rewarded him by making him his chief minister, and conferring on him various insignia of royalty. We may add that such persons like Sūrana contributed to the prestige of the artisan community, and no wonder the community adopted an elaborate *praśasti* with a string of epithets to qualify them.

The *'praśasti'* of the community as found in inscriptions is of considerable interest. A record of 15th century from Amaravati[16] extols the Pañcāṇamuvāru, born in the Viśvakarma lineage in the following manner. They are the refuge to all gods and prime architects of the three worlds (*Samasta dēvātanistāraka, Tribhuvananirmitādhāra*). They are adorners of Śri Parvata, (Śri Śaila), well-versed in all *'śāstras'* and *'purāṇas'*, possessed of courage and prowess, and attainers of the *'Puruṣārthas'*, sought after by all people: (*Śrī Parvatālankāra, Anantasabdaśāstra Purāṇapārāvāra, Gambhīradhīra dhīrōttāraṇa, sarva jana puruṣārthayuktulaina*). A record from Voṇṭimeṭṭa[17] contains even more elaborate *'praśasti'* of the Pañcāṇamuvāru. They are like the refuge of the whole world and the mainstay for the creation of the three worlds (*Samastalōka nistāraka tribhuvana nirmitādhāra*). They are adepts in all sciences and *'purāṇas'* (*Śrī Anantaśāstra purāṇa pārāvārā gambhīradharadhīrōdhāraka.* They are seekers of the welfare of the world, knowers of the way to command respect and possessors of matchless valour. (*Jagahitakartāraka satkāra pratibhuktayuktāraka Atulita pratāpa*). They are the Lords of Vara Pemdōta which contained in it all the worlds (*Ananta Brahmāṇḍa Aṇḍaja Piṇḍaja Vitalāyukta Vara Pemdōṭa Purādhīśvara*). They are the worshippers of the lotus feet of Lord Kamatēśvara who shone with eternal brilliance (*Śrīmat Mahā jyōti prakāśa Kamatēśvara dēvara divya Śrī pāda padmarādhakulainaṭuvanṭi*). They were entitled to the various royal insignia, like leather musical instrument, a sword, the banner of Garuḍa, golden musical instrument, golden fans, golden palanquin and a crown studded with diamonds and the five musical instruments (*rumjayū, gavālambunnū, pulitōlutekkyam-*

16. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 209.
17. *Local Records*, Vol. 18, p. 404.

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bunnū, garuḍa dhvajambunnū, Kanakahālelu, pasidi vimjāmaralu, andalamunnū, maṇulakirīṭamunnū, Pañcamahāvādyamulugala).[18]

The '*praśasti*' of this type, it must be noted, was the order of the day. The industrial and mercantile communities imitated the chiefs and potentates and assumed different titles likewise. Every important community of the medieval Andhra, the Telikis, the Penugoṇḍa Vaiśyas and the Balañja merchants had this kind of '*praśasti*' recorded in their inscriptions. The salient features of the '*praśasti*' of the artisan community may be analysed in the light of the '*praśasti*' of the other communities. In the first instance, the commencing part of the '*praśasti*' which narrates the personal virtues of 'Pañcāṇamuvāru' is very much like the '*praśasti*' of other communities which commences in the same tenor. Secondly, it is pointed out that the members of the community were Lords of Vara Pemdōṭa in the Palnāḍ Taluk of the Guntur District. The Telikis, on the other hand, described themselves as Lords of Bezwada while Vaiśyas claimed to be the Lords of Peṇugoṇḍa and the Balañja merchants styled themselves as Lords of Ayyāvaḷi. Thus it would be seen that every community associated itself with a place which they considered as their original home. Thirdly, the Pañcānamuvāru were worshippers of the feet of Lord Kamatēśvara. The Telikis, however, worshipped the feet of Mallēśvaradēva. The Vaiśyas bowed to the feet of Nagarēśvaradēva and the Balañja merchants were the devotees of Gaṇēśvara and Gaurēśvara. The last portion of the '*praśasti*', however, is peculiar to the artisan community and refers to the honours they were entitled to.

The '*praśasti*' of the artisan community of Andhra closely resembles that of the Pañcālas of Karṇāṭaka. A record from Mysore District[19] of the year A.D. 1372, praises the personal virtues of the members of the artisan community and their skill in their art in

18. The title of Pañcamahāvādya means that the community obtained the permission to use in public certain musical instruments which were generally conferred on vassals as a gift of honour by their feudal lords. Many chiefs of various dynasties donned this title and are usually described in epigraphs with the title "Samādhigata Pañcamahāsabha". The five musical instruments were Śringa, Tammata, Śankha, Bhēri and Jayaghaṇṭa—see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 202 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. p. 106.

19. E. Car, Vol. IV. Gu. 4.

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an elaborate way. More than this, it describes the Pañcālas as adorners of Śrī Parvata (*Śrī Śaila*) Lords of Pemdōṭa and worshippers of the feet of Kamatēśvara (*Śrī Parvatālankāra, Pendōṭi Puravarādhīśvara, Kamatēśvara dēvara divya Śrī Pāda Padmārādhakuram*). That the artisan community of Karnāṭaka should attach themselves to Śrī Śaila, Pemdōṭa, Kamatēśvaradēva of Dharaṇikōṭa, all connected with the artisan community of Andhra, speaks volumes of affinity between the artisan community of Karnāṭaka and that of Andhra and suggests in its turn an immigration of some families of the community from Andhra to Karnāṭaka. Since the inscription belongs to the 14th century this immigration must have occurred earlier. Thus we can state that the composite artisan community of Andhra must have had its full growth even before the 14th century.

Next, we may proceed to examine the corporate activities of the community. The inscriptions, speaking about these, are few in number and belong only to 15th and 16th centuries. However, it is not as though the corporate activity of the artisans began with these centuries. In the neighbouring regions of Tamilnāḍ and Karṇāṭaka, the corporate activity of the community is evidenced earlier, even in the 13th century. An inscription hails from Ālanguḍi[20] in the Nannilam Taluk of the Tanjore District which speaks, in unmistakable terms, of the communal life of the artisans of the place. Herein, the artisan community is referred to as the *Rathakāras*. They were of four classes and pursued six kinds of work. The four classes refer to the manner of their birth, *anulōma* or *pratilōma*. The six kinds of work include goldsmithy, silversmithy, blacksmithy, carpentry, stone work and painting. Thus in Tamilnāḍ the composite community included painters also.[21] They also have the mythical account which connects them with Viśvakarma.[22]

20. *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 439.

21. The point is fully clarified in the "Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society", Vol. 45 page 83. "It is needless to say that under the four classes of Rathakāras, who were after all one, were included the artisan class of Taccaṇ, Taṭṭān, Kollaṇ and Kammāḷan or Karumāram (blacksmith) painters and śilpins".

22. The mutilated Sanskrit portion in the beginning of the inscription refers to this.

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The inscription from Ālanguḍi, after giving the usual '*praśasti*' states that the *Rathakāras* assembled in full in the temple of Vaṇḍuvarapati (-Perumal) at Rājarāja Caturvēdi mangalam in Śuttamalli Vaḷanāḍu for conducting '*Samaya Kārya*' (*Samaya Kāriyamāvadu*). They brought out a resolution to the effect that an *iṉavari*' shall be paid by the members living in several Districts to form the sum needed for the construction of a pavilion to the temple. The above resolution was to be communicated to the *Rathakāras* of the Districts (*nāḍu*) as well as *śankētins*' of the village (*vaḷanāḍu*). Finally certain agents, called Vīra Māheśvaras were authorised to realise the '*iṉavari*' and it was declared that the property of the persons who refused to pay the '*iṉavari*' would be forfeited. Thus the inscription gives us a graphic picture of the communal life of the artisan community. They evidently had an assembly to look after the interests of the community. It is expressly stated that all the members of the community, without even a single absentee, met and did the following '*samaya kārya*' (*niṟaivara niṟaindu kuṟaivaṟakkūdiy-irundu seyda samaya kāriyamāvadu*). This assembly had jurisdiction over several 'nāḍus (Districts) and 'vaḷanāḍus' (villages). The members of the units were well-versed in the '*Dharmaśāstras*' and *Purāṇas*. The assembly held its periodical meetings at a place within its jurisdiction, wherein, the issues concerning the whole community were discussed. The assembly enjoyed wide powers. They could collect taxes or even confiscate the property of recalcitrant members. In short, it was the custodian of the communal life of the members. The same kind of communal organisation obtained with regard to the artisans of Karṇāṭaka area.[23]

It is only with the background of the communal organisation outlined in the inscription of the Rathakāras of Tamilnāḍ that the inscriptions of the artisan community of the Telugu area become meaningful to us. An undated inscription from Udayagiri[24] informs us that the Pañcāṇamuvāru of Udayagiri, Nellore, Koraṭūr, Gaṇḍavaram, Duvūr, Ātukūr, Jaladanki, Koḍavalūr, Allūr, Kovūr,

23. An inscription from Bangalore, E. Car, Vol. IX, Bn. 12 of the year A.D. 1300 refers to the permanent agreement made by all Pañcālas who had assembled without a vacancy in the assembly in front of God Śikkopperumal. See also E. Car, Vol. IV, Gu. 4.

24. *N. D. I.*, Vol. III, Udayagiri, No. 21.

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Vavvēru, Prabhākarapaṭnam, Kṛṣṇarāyapaṭnam, Sariyāpalli, Rāpur, Kandukūr, Podili, Keṇagiri, Kegipa and other villages in the Udayagiri Rājya remitted the taxes to the treasury of God Śrī Raghunāyakulu at Udayagiri. From this, it is evident that the artisan community of the different places of Udayagiri Rājya had an assembly of its own. Acting on behalf of the community this composite body of Pañcāṇamuvāru, submitted to the treasury of the deity the taxes they collected from the members.

An inscription from Amarāvati[25] of the year A.D. 1490 acquaints us with another communal assembly of the artisans. It records a '*dharmaśāsana*' given by one Mallayya Pātruḍu, an agent of the Pañcāṇamuvāru who inhabited Koṇḍapalli, Bezwada and surrounding places. By this *dharmaśāsana,* the donor assigns the tax given by the Pañcāṇamuvāru of Dharaṇikōṭa and Amarāvati to the temple of Kamatēśvara of Dharaṇikōṭa. We may safely infer, that the communal assembly of the artisans, having jurisdiction over Koṇḍapalli, Bezwada and other nearby places met in Amarāvati and came to a resolution to the effect that the tax payable by the artisan community of Dharaṇikōṭa and Amarāvati should be assigned to the said temple. More probably, the taxes collected were in the nature of a communal cess and not what they used to contribute to the king's treasury. It is interesting to note that the communal assembly of the artisans of the Telugu area also employed certain agents, to carry on the behests of the assembly, just as the assembly of the *Rathakāras* of Ālangudi, authorised certain Māhēśvaras to collect taxes.

The nature of the communal assembly of the artisan community of Andhra becomes clear, when we consider the copper-plate inscription of the 16th century, from Vonṭimetta[26] in the Cuddapah District. The inscription gives an elaborate '*praśasti*' of the community and then proceeds to say that the Pañcāṇamuvāru of the places like Tirupati, Kāḷahasti, and Candragiri met at the '*mukhamaṇḍapa*' of the Kāḷikādēvi and made a convention. According to this convention, certain dues were to be paid to one Yellayya of Vontimeṭṭa, who performed the various assignments of the community meritoriously. It is resolved that a *rūka* on

25. *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 219.
26. Local records, Vol. 18, p. 404.

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each carpenter's bench, on each forge of the smith, on each chisel of a mason, and on every marriage occasion should be paid to the said person on the condition that he undertakes to serve the community from time to time.[27]

Thus emerges a picture of the communal organisation of the artisans of medieval Andhra. The community was divided territorially into several units, each unit comprising certain villages and towns. The Udayagiri Rājya was one such division; Koṇḍapalli, Bezwada and nearby places formed themselves into another, while Candragiri, Tirupati, Kāḷahasti and nearby places constituted yet another unit. There could be several more of such divisions. Each of these divisions had an assembly which met in one place or another, within the area to transact the business of the community of the locality. They usually met at the '*mukhamaṇḍapa*' of the temple belonging to Śiva or his consort. They had also certain agents to serve the needs of the community. The decisions taken at the joint assembly were binding on the whole community. The assembly was thus a custodian of the interests of the members and acted as a sort of intermediary between the members and the state.

Finally it may be observed that the composite artisan community wielded great influence on the society of the times. The grandeur of the royal dynasties of those times owed not a little to these artisans: they had to build the palaces, furnish them, and decorate them. Hence it is that we find that the kings rewarded the community by granting them privileges which greatly raised their status. Two instances may be cited. An inscription of A.D. 1306 from Bangalore District[28] refers to the privileges granted by the Hoysala King Ballala III (A.D. 1291-A.D. 1342) to the Pañcālas of his kingdom, while another from Anantapur District[29] mentions that certain privileges were granted by the Vijayanagar king, Harihara I (A.D. 1336-A.D. 1357) to the Pañcālas as a reward for making a throne. Other kings and chiefs of the Telugu area must have given similar privileges to the artisan community of

27. Inscriptions from Karṇāṭaka area also refer to this kind of dues from members of the artisan community, for example E. Car, Vol. IX, Dn. 52 refers to the list of dues paid by the Pañcālas.
28. E. Car, Vol. IX, Dn. 110.
29. *A. R. E.*, No. 804 of 1917.

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Andhra. That by the middle of the 16th century the artisan community became a force to be reckoned with in the social life of Andhra can be known from an inscription from Udayagiri of the 16th century.[30] It states that one Kōnēṭayya Dēva Maharāja, a chief of Udayagiri, performed a car festival of the deity of Raghunāthanāyakulu and erected stone inscription prescribing the ceremonies to be observed in future festivals. According to this, when the deity in the car passes through the holy streets, with the dancing girls and servants inside the car, a member of the Pañcāṇamuvāru, wearing a head cloth, and another loosely wrapped round the waist, and having only a sandal mark between the eye brows, and not chewing a betel, should go round in front of the car, with a chisel, a mallet, a mail, and a sickle in his hands. The honours that any community of the medieval times craved for were connected with the treatment accorded to them in temples and in festivals connected with deities. The treatment that the artisan community received in the car festival cited above is an index of the position of eminence the artisan community of Andhra occupied in contemporary society.

30. *N. D. I.*, Vol. III, Udayagiri, No. 20.

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Problems in later Pallava Chronology and Genealogy

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The period between the exit of Paramēśvaravarman II of the main line of the Pallavas from the political scene and the accession of Cōḷa Parāntaka in the ninth century, running roughly to about two hundred and twenty five years, witnessed the spectacle of a relatively little known collateral branch of the Pallavas attempting to uphold the hegemony of the main branch and continue its work in war and peace. Apart from the coming to power of this family in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, the period also saw the ushering in of a new political climate in the whole of South India. It was during this period that the Western Cāḷukyas of Vātāpi disappeared from the scene yielding place to the emerging Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It was again during this period that the Pāṇḍyas of the first empire rose into prominence in the extreme south of the peninsula and the Noḷambas who claimed descent from the Pallava family established themselves in parts of the present Mysore state. The rise of such new powers with the common ambition of expansion among them inevitably necessitated frequent wars in which they were amply assisted by their feudatories and subordinates. In such enterprises the Pallavas of Kāñcī naturally played a conspicuous part not only because they occupied a central position in the geography of the peninsula, but they had also a hoary tradition and a great past which they had to uphold and continue. The history of the later Pallavas is thus really a story of challenges and responses and barring a few occasional phases of showdowns they had to their credit commendable work. The first among the later Pallavas, Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, revived the practice of giving regnal years in inscriptions, a practice that had been given up by his immediate predecessors and this helps considerably in working out their chronology; and yet their chronology is still not finally settled. An attempt is made here to examine the later Pallava chronology and genealogy against the background of which alone the political

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and cultural achievements of the dynasty can be appreciably recounted.

Till the discovery of the Uḷcaḷa stone inscription[1] dated in the thirty-fifth regnal year of the Cāḷukya ruler Vijayāditya corresponding to 730-31 A.D. testifying to the defeat of the Pallava ruler Paramēśvaravarman II at the hands of the former's son *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya (II), the date of the accession of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla was unsettled.[2] The above inscription makes it obvious that the earliest possible date for Nandivarman's accession is 731 A.D. The Narwan plates[3] dated in Śaka 664 (expired) and the eighth regnal year of the Cāḷukya king Vikramāditya II corresponding to A.D. 741-42 and thereby indicating that he ascended the throne in 733-34 A.D. aver that immediately on his coronation, being resolved to uproot completely his natural enemy (*prakṛtyamitra*) (i.e., the Pallava) he invaded the Tuṇḍakaviṣaya and defeated the opposing Pallava king Nandipōttavarman. The same details are referred to in the Vakkaḷēri[4] and Kēndūr[5] plates of his successor Kīrtivarman II. It is thus clear from these pieces of Cāḷukya evidence that the Pallava king in 733-34 A.D. was Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. The upper and lower limits for the date of the accession of Nandivarman II, *i.e.* between 731 and 733-34 A.D. are thus clearly obtained. As the exact reign period of Paramēśvaravarman II is unknown, and as no inscription bearing a date later than his third regnal year has so far been found it does not seem to be unreasonable to take that 731 A.D., the year of his subjugation by the Cāḷukyas, was his last year and in the

1. *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 54.

2. J. Dubreuil, after considering various factors and known events concluded that his accession must have taken place in 717 A.D. (*The Pallavas*, pp. 60-66). Gopalan thought that it was in 710 A.D. (*The Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 119). N. Venkataramanayya felt that it could not have been earlier than 725 A.D. (*Journal of Oriental Research*, 1934, p. 1). M. S. Sarma suggested 727 A.D. (*Ibid.*, IX, p. 219). K. V. Subrahmania Aiyar pushed it back to 696 A.D. (*Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 50). R. Satyanathier gives 710 A.D. for his accession (*History and Culture of the Indian people*, Vol. III, p. 282).

3. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVII, p. 125 ff.

4. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 200 ff.

5. *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 200-207.

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same year Nandivarman II succeeded him.[6] That his reign extended to at least sixty-five years is evident from his Māmallapuram inscription;[7] and in the absence of any of his records beyond that it may be taken that his reign terminated in 796 A.D.

His son Dantivarman who succeeded him in the same year has inscriptions dated up to his fifty-first year[8] thus yielding 846 A.D. as the probable last year of that ruler and the initial year of his successor Nandivarman III. The last regnal year of Nandivarman III, in the absence of any positive evidence, has to be determined with reference to the date of the accession of his son and successor, Nṛpatunga. An inscription from Tiruccennampūṇḍi in the Tanjore district dated in the twenty-second year of Nṛpatunga mentions some astronomical details, viz., Dhanus, Jyeṣṭhā and Friday,[9] the equivalent of which has been found by the editor of the inscription to be 867 A.D. yielding 845 A.D. as the date of Nṛpatunga's accession.[10] But subsequent studies have proved that in 845 A.D. the Pallava ruler was Dantivarman and therefore Nṛpatunga must have succeeded to the throne only later. Recently K. R. Srinivasan has suggested that as the astronomical details mentioned above also work out correctly to 881 A.D. the year 859 A.D. must be the date of his accession.[11] K. R. Srinivasan's scheme of chronology depends on his scheme of genealogy for he believes that Nandivarman III, son and successor of Dantivarman, was different from Teḷḷārṟeṟinda Nandivarman, hero of the Tamil work *Nandikkalambakam* and this latter must be a Nandivarman IV who according to him flourished in the tenth century.[12] This could not have been so and Nandivarman III and

6. 666 of 1922.

7. On the authority of his interpretation of the Mallam inscription of Nandipottarasar, D. C. Sircar fixes the date of the accession of Nandivarman, II at 730 A.D. (See *A History of the Indian People, The Classical Age,* Vol. III, p. 282). But his interpretation of the contents of the inscription requires revision. See *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India,* 1959-60, pp. 17-27.

8. 262 of 1940; *South Indian Inscriptions,* XII, No. 43.

9. *Ibid.,* VII, No. 528.

10. *Ibid., Introduction,* p. 1.

11. *Cave Temples of the Pallavas,* p. 13.

12. *Ibid.,* pp. 11-12 and 18.

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Teḷḷārṟeṟinda Nandivarman must be identical.[13] As we have seen above, Nandivarman III must have started his reign in 846 A.D. and hence K. R. Srinivasan's contention that his successor Nṛpatunga ascended the throne in 859 A.D. is untenable because the regnal years furnished in the inscriptions of Nandivarman III (Teḷḷārṟeṟinda Nandi) indicate that he should have reigned at least upto 869 A.D.[14] It is interesting to note that the astronomical details given in the Tiruccennampūṇḍi inscription work out correctly also to 891 A.D. yielding 869 A.D. as the date of Nṛpatunga's accession. As 869 A.D. is also the last known year of Nandivarman III it is quite probable that he died in that year and was succeeded by Nṛpatunga.

The problem of the chronology of the last three Pallava rulers—Nṛpatunga, Aparājita and Kampavarman—is a vexed and knotty one. From the Bāhūr plates of Nṛpatunga it is clear that he was the son of Nandivarman III while two lithic records, one from Śōḷavaram[15] and the other from Paḷḷikoṇḍa[16] in the North Arcot district respectively mention Nandikampēsvara and Nandikampacaturvēdimangalam from which it is possible to infer that Kampavarman was also a son of Nandivarman III (the analogy of Danti-Nandi[17] and Arinjaya-Parāntaka[18] may be recalled here).[19] While Nṛpatunga appears to have succeeded Nandivarman III at his death, Kampavarman had probably a sort of joint suzerainty over the kingdom. Aparājitavarman whose inscriptions range till his eighteenth regnal year was probably a step-brother of Nṛpatunga and born to Nandivarman by his queen Mārambāvai who is mentioned as the wife of Nandivarman Kāḍupaṭṭigal in more than one

13. This has been discussed by me in a separate paper. See also *S.I.I.*, XII, Introduction, p. 1.

14. *S. I. I.*, XII, No. 58.

15. 423 of 1902.

16. 469 and 473 of 1925.

17. 88 of 1910 and 529 of 1905; *S. I. I.*, XIII, No. 48.

18. 572 of 1920.

19. K. V. Subrahmania Aiyar has even postulated that Nandivarman III, might have married a daughter of Kambha (Stampa), the eldest son of Rāṣṭrakūta Dhruva and that the name Kampavarman might have been derived from Kambha, the maternal grandfather of Kampavarman, as in the case of Nṛpatunga who was named after his maternal grandfather. See *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, pp. 48-49.

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inscription. He appears to have struck at the reigning king by about 895 A.D. in the battle of Śripurambiyam and brought the kingdom under himself with Ganga and possibly also Cōḷa help. Nothing is heard of Nṛpatunga after this battle until his forty-first year.

Among other things the Bāhūr plates refer to Nṛpatunga's triumph over the confederation of enemies on the banks of the river Aricit. This river is identified with Ariśil, a branch of the Kāvēri, which enters the sea near Karaikkal. The enemies whom Nṛpatunga faced on its banks could only have been the Cōḷas because the battle field was in the heart of the Cōḷa country and other powers in South India were on amicable terms with him. The Cōḷa ruler could only have been Vijayālaya or Āditya. Epigraphs of Nṛpatunga dated in his second year at Lālguḍi[20] and seventh year of Nārttāmalai[21] indicate that his sway extended as far south as the Pudukkottai area in 876 A.D. It is not unlikely that the Cōḷas were subjugated by the Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas allied together and that their country was occupied by both. Inscriptions of Mārañjaḍaiyan, identifiable with Varaguṇa II, have been found at Aḍuturai[22] (870 A.D.) Kumbakonam[23] (870 A.D.), Tiruccirrambalam[24] (878 A.D.) etc. pointing to this. It is however noteworthy that no inscription of Nṛpatunga ranging between his seventh and twenty-first years have been found in the Cōḷa country. It is therefore likely that after 878 A.D., the date of the Tiruccirrambalam inscription of Varaguṇa II, Āditya might have recovered and slowly become powerful.

The years immediately following 890 A.D. formed a crucial epoch in the history of both the Pallava and Cōḷa dynasties. Inscriptions of Nṛpatunga dated in his twenty-first year at Kaṇḍiyūr,[25] twenty-second year at Tiruccennampūṇḍi,[26] twenty-third year at Lālguḍi[27] and twenty-second and twenty-fourth years at

20. 122 of 1928-29; *S. I. I.*, XII, No. 61.
21. 365 of 1904; *S. I. I.*, XII, No. 63.
22. 358 of 1907.
23. 13 of 1908.
24. 185 of 1926, *S. I. I.*, XIV, No. 14.
25. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 572.
26. *Ibid.*, VII, Nos. 521, 522 and 528.
27. *Ibid.*, IV, No. 531.

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Tirukkōḍikkāval[28] have been found and these reveal his renewed sway over the Cōḷa country after an interval of about fourteen years. Surprisingly an inscription refers to the presence of Āditya in the Pallava kingdom during the same period. A record of Uttamacōḷa from Tirumāḷpuram in the North Arcot district mentions a grant made in the twenty-first year of Tondaimanārṟūrttuñjina Uḍaiyār, i.e., Āditya.[29] The date of the accession of Āditya has been unequivocally fixed at 871 A.D. on the basis of the astronomical details provided in an inscription from Takkōlam dated in the twenty-fourth year of Āditya.[30] Hence the twenty-first year of Āditya must be 892 A.D. Again another inscription from Takkōlam dated in the twenty-first year of Āditya, i.e., 892 A.D. calls that place Aparājitacaturvēdimangalam[31] and this may be taken to indicate that Aparājita had also become powerful by this time and probably allied himself with Āditya in his bid for the Pallava throne. But inscriptions of Nṛpatunga are to be found till 894 A.D. in the Cōḷa country and 895 A.D. in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. This clearly indicates that the times were not quite peaceful and that there were frequent intrusions by both the Pallavas and Cōḷas in each other's territories.

Two hero-stone inscriptions from Āmbūr in the North Arcot district dated in the twenty-sixth year of Nṛpatunga (i.e., 895 A.D.) refer to a Noḷamba attack on that place[32] in which a Pṛthvīgangaraiyar[33] fought on the side of the Pallava. The Noḷamba attack on the Pallava kingdom in the last year of Nṛpatunga prior to his re-emergence in about his forty-first year seems to be significant.

28. *Ibid.*, XII, Nos. 74 and 78.
29. *Ibid.*, III, No. 142.
30. *Ibid.*, V, No. 1368; *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX, p. 85.
31. *S.I.I.*, XIII, No. 294.
32. *Epigraphia Indica*, IV, pp. 180 ff.
33. The Pṛthvīgangaraiyar who is said in the Āmbūr records to have fought on the side of the Pallava is generally identified with Pṛthvīpati I, a Ganga ruler of a collateral branch. Recent studies have shown that the title Pṛthvīgangaraiyar was borne by all the chiefs of Pangāḷanāḍu in succession (see *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXIII, pp. 23-26). Pangāḷanāḍu comprised parts of the modern North Arcot district; and inscriptions found in this area mentioning Pṛthvīgangaraiyar may be taken to be those of the chiefs of Pangāḷanāḍu rather Pṛthvīpatis of the Ganga line.

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It is known that the Noḷambas aided the Gangas in their attack on the Pallava kingdom during the reign of Nandivarman III and a Noḷamba chief claims to have extended his conquest as far as Kāñcīpuram.[34] It is quite probable that the Noḷamba disturbance was not an isolated event and the chief aided Aparājita along with the Cōḷas in his attempt to obtain the crown. That the Gangas were also on the side of Aparājita is clear from the Udayēndiram plates of Pṛthvīpati II.[35] A verse in the *praśasti* portion of the plates states that 'At the head of the great battle of Śrīpurambiyam, this hero (*i.e.*, Pṛthvīpati I) quickly defeated Varaguṇa, the Lord of the Pāṇḍyas; and having, at the expense of his own life, secured that his friend was Aparājita (unconquered) in fact as in name he ascended to heaven.'[36]

The first regnal year of Aparājita must be the very year in which the battle of Śrīpurambiyam was fought. It must have been fought only during the year 895 A.D. as we know from the Āmbūr inscriptions that in that year Nṛpatunga was the reigning king and not Aparājita. An inscription of Pṛthvīpati II, the grandson of Pṛthvīpati I, from Takkōlam is dated in the twenty-fourth year of Āditya corresponding to 895 A.D. and this points to the fact that Pṛthvīpati I was no more then and Pṛthvīpati II was the reigning king. It is therefore certain that the battle of Śrīpurambiyam in which Pṛthvīpati I died took place in 895 A.D.

From the Udayēndiram plates it is clear that Aparājita and Pṛthvīpati I fought against Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa. Varaguṇa was always in league with Nṛpatunga and his defeat at Śrīpurambiyam by Aparājita makes us infer that the very battle was fought to dethrone Nṛpatunga who was naturally assisted by Varaguṇa or more likely Nṛpatunga was dethroned in 895 A.D. and this was resisted by Varaguṇa who was vanquished in the battle. Much is not known about this battle and it is mentioned only in the Udayēndiram plates of Pṛthvīpati II. Nothing is known about Nṛpatunga after the battle till his forty-first year. Probably he was taking shelter under a friendly king or reconciled himself to the position of a subordinate to Aparājita.

34. 588 of 1912.
35. *S.I.I.*, II, pp. 375 ff.
36. 337 of 1912; *S.I.I.*, No. 76, *v.* 18.

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Aparājita who must have become the master of the Pallava kingdom in 895 A.D. ruled for at least eighteen years, *i.e.*, till 913 A.D. But his sway does not appear to have extended beyond the southern fringes of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, as his inscriptions are found mostly only in the northern parts of the Chingleput district. That the Cōḷa power and influence were considerable in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam during the reign of Aparājita is apparent from several inscriptions of Āditya dated in his own regnal years.

The Kanyākumāri inscription of Vīrarājēndra[37] states that the Cōḷa king Āditya killed a Pallava ruler in battle and the Tiruvālangāḍu plates of Rājendra Cōḷa[38] aver that Āditya fought against Aparājita. These two statements have been reconciled by scholars, holding that Āditya killed Aparājita in battle. There is no evidence on the last year of Āditya except the fact that the initial year of his successor Parāntaka was 907 A.D.[39] This however does not necessarily mean that Āditya must have died in that year. In Cōḷa history joint rule by father and son is not infrequent. The gilding of the Cidambaram temple, the conquest of the Kongu country, and the success over the Pallava king are some of the achievements claimed for both Āditya and Parāntaka, both in epigraphy and literature. It is therefore not unlikely that they ruled together for some time and that Āditya's last year might not have been before 913 A.D., the last year of Aparājita who is said to have been killed by him.

Nṛpatunga probably took advantage of the difficulties of Aparājita in his last years and started slowly regaining power. His Maṭhavalam inscription[40] points to his presence in 910 A.D. But he must have died soon after, as he was already old and nothing about him is known further.

Inscriptions of Kampavarman range from his second to thirty-second years. It has been seen above that he was one of the sons of Nandivarman III and a brother of Nṛpatunga. Obviously therefore he must have flourished only in the latter half of the ninth

37. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, pp. 142 ff. *Epigraphia Indica*, XVIII, p. 42, *v.* 55.
38. *S.I.I.*, III, No. 205, *v.* 49.
39. *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, p. 260.
40. 138 of 1943-44.

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century. T. N. Subrahmanyan, however, has attempted to show that he ascended the throne in 948 A.D. and his reign extended till 980 A.D..[41] This would make him a contemporary of the Cōḷa rulers from Parāntaka to Uttama Cōḷa and it is very doubtful whether the Pallavas continued to rule till late in the tenth century. The basic arguments on which the whole theory that Kampavarman ascended the throne in 948 A.D. stands may be stated before being examined.

The Madras Museum plates of Uttama Cōḷa dated in his sixteenth year, equivalent to 984-85 A.D. mention a gift made in the ninth year of Kampavarman and this is preceded by the mention of another gift made in the twenty-second year of Parakēsarivarman identified with Parāntaka.[42] It has been taken that these are in chronological order and hence held that the ninth year of Kampavarman should be after the twenty-second year of Parāntaka, *viz.*, 928-29 A.D. This would mean that the accession of Kampavarman must have taken place after 928-29 A.D. and before the date of the issue of the Madras Museum plates, viz., 984-85 A.D. This has been narrowed further by the evidence of a few inscriptions from Śōḷavaram. An inscription from that place dated in the eighth year of Kampavarman mentions the construction of a Śiva temple and *sepulchral* shrine by Rājāditya Mahādēva as a memorial to his father Pṛthvīgangaraiyar.[43] The mutilated Sanskrit portion of this inscription gives the genealogy of his family and mentions an Attivarman. Another inscription from the same place dated Saka 871 (949 A.D.) mentions the construction of a tank in memory of a certain Kaḷḷi-Naṅgai, daughter of Attimalla *alias* Kannaradeva Pṛthvīgangaraiyar, son of Vayiṟi Adigan of Pāṅgāḷanāḍu.[44] It has been taken that Attivarman and Attimalla referred to in the above two inscriptions are identical. Another record from the same place reveals that Attimalla *alias* Pṛthvīgangaraiyar was alive at least till 953 A.D. As he was dead by the eighth year of Kampavarman as is evident from Rājāditya Mahādēva's construction of a *pallippadai* for him, it may be in-

41. *South Indian Temple Inscriptions,* Vol. III, Part-I, pp. lxxxvi to lxxxix.
42. *South Indian Inscriptions,* III, No. 128.
43. *Epigraphia Indica,* VII, p. 193.
44. *Ibid.,* p. 195.

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ferred that the accession of Kampavarman must have taken place between 945 A.D. and 953 A.D. The inscription from Śōḷavaram dated Śaka 871 (949 A.D.) referred to above is also dated in the second year of an unspecified king. This unspecified king was probably Kampavarman, as the date of the other contemporary kings does not tally with this. Consequently he must have ascended the throne in 948 A.D.[45]

This date for Kampavarman arrived at by a painstaking study of several inscriptions is however unsatisfactory because we know that he was the son of Nandivarman and no Nandivarman is heard of in the first half of the tenth century. Therefore he must have been only the son of Nandivarman III, the victor at Teḷḷāru. Further the above arguments suggesting 948 A.D. as the date of his accession are also not very convincing. In the first place the transactions mentioned in the Madras Museum plates of Uttama Cōḷa are "confusing and it is difficult to take them in chronological order". Again the identification of Attivarman who is simply mentioned as born in the line of Mādhava with Attimalla, the son of Vayiri Adiyan and a subordinate of Kannaradēva, on which the whole theory is based is very doubtful.

Mention may be made in this connection of an inscription from Tippasamudram in the Vellore taluk of the North Arcot district dated in the seventeenth year of Kampavarman mentioning the digging of a channel called Viḷupperaraiyan at Valivalakkamangalam by Pṛthiyangaraiyar (Pṛthvigangaraiyar) who is called *innāḍuḍaiya* meaning the 'chief of this *nāḍu*'.[46] This *nāḍu* could only refer to the *nāḍu* in which findspot of the inscription was. The modern Polur and Vellore taluks of the North Arcot district are referred to in several inscriptions as Pangāḷanāḍu and therefore Pṛthvīgangaraiyar of the Tippasamudram inscription could only have been the chief of Pangāḷanāḍu.

We have seen above that one of the inscriptions from Śoḷavaram dated in the eighth year of Kampavarman mentions the construction of a Śiva temple and a *sepulchral* shrine by Rājāditya Mahādēva in memory of his father. Hultsch, who edited this

45. *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, III, Pt. I, pp. lxxxvi-lxxxix.
46. 174 of 1939-40; *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXIII, pp. 23-26.

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inscription, has taken Rājāditya to be the name of the person and Mahādēva to mean 'the great king'. But instances like Danti-Nandi, Nandi-Kampa, Arinjigai-Parāntakadēva etc. indicating that the son prefixed his father's name to that of his own warrant the conclusion that Mahādēva who built the *sepulchral* shrine for his father was the son of Rājāditya who is called Pṛthvīgangaraiyan. The chief in the Tippasamudram inscription is also called Pṛthvī-gangaraiyar and, considering the fact that there was only a short interval of nine years between the dates of the Śōḷavaram and Tippasamudram inscriptions, both dated in the years of Kampa-varman, it is possible to identify Mahādēva of the Śōḷavaram record with Pṛthvīgangaraiyar of the Tippasamudram record.[47] Pṛthvī-gangaraiyar of the Tippasamudram record could not be Rājāditya who was already dead in the eighth year of Kampavarman. It then follows that Pṛthvīgangaraiyar was a dynastic title and was borne by all the members of the family. This is proved by a few other inscriptions also.

An inscription from Tiruppaḷanam in the Tanjore district dated in the twenty-second year of a Rājakēsarivarman identified with Āditya mentions a Mahādēva as a father of Gangamārttāṇḍar *alias* Śembiyan Pṛthvīgangaraiyar.[48] Another inscription from Kāppalūr in the North Arcot district dated in the eighth year of Parakēsarivarman identified with Parāntaka refers to one Kamaḍi-gal, the son of Mādēvar of Pāṅgāḷanādu.[49] Yet in another record from Tiruppaḷanam dated in Parāntaka's eleventh year, another son of Mahādēva is mentioned as Pṛthvīgangaraiyar.[50] This Mahādēva who is explicitly called the chief of Pāṅgāḷanādu must therefore be identical with Mahādēva, son of Rājāditya of the Śōḷapuram inscription and Pṛthvīgangaraiyar of the Tippasamudram record. It then follows that Kampavarman who was the overlord of Mahā-dēva was a predecessor or at least an elder contemporary of Āditya and could not be assigned to the middle of the tenth century.

It will be of interest to note in this connection three inscrip-tions engraved on a slab at Tiruvorriyūr.[51] These are engraved in

47. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
48. 177 of 1927-28, *South Indian Inscriptions*, XIII, No. 319.
49. 283 of 1938-39.
50. 139 of 1928.
51. 189 and 190 of 1912; *South Indian Inscriptions*, XII, Nos. 90 and 99.

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continuation of one another. The name of the king in the first record is lost while the second is dated in the seventh year of Kampavarman and the third in the sixth year of Aparājita. It is possible to infer from this that the seventh year of Kampavarman must have preceded the sixth year of Aparājita. Again in an inscription of Kampavarman dated in his fifteenth year an Aparājita Perumānaḍigaḷ figures as donor and it is tempting to identify him with Āparājita Pallava.[52] These stray evidences unanimously indicate that Kampavarman must have reigned only in the second half of the ninth century.

If that be so he might have ruled the kingdom jointly first with Nṛpatunga and later with Aparājita. The policy pursued by him *vis-a-vis* the *Nṛpatunga-Aparājita* clash is indeterminable. Probably he was content to have joint suzerainty, with no other designs and was prepared to rule with either of his brothers. An inscription of his has been found in Mallām in the Gudur taluk of the Nellore district and this may be taken to indicate the northern limit of the area under his control.[53]

52. 42 of 1898; *South Indian Inscriptions*, VI, No. 325.
53. 498 of 1908; *South Indian Inscriptions*, XII, No. 106.

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Reviews

INDIAN PREHISTORY, 1964. Edited by V. N. Misra and M. S. Mate, Published by the Deccan College, Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona (1965) pp. xxiv + 266. Price Rs. 15/-.

This volume contains the main discussions by some leading Indian archaeologists on eleven different aspects of Indian Prehistory and Protohistory in the Seminar held under the auspices of the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, in May 1964. The Seminar had three main aims namely (1) to discuss a few important problems in the Prehistory and Protohistory of the country in the light of recent work done on them (2) to bring together scholars working in the field and (3) to place before scholars at large the latest happenings in them.

The Seminar on the first topic led by K. V. Soundararajan deals with the question if 'Soan' is a separate culture. A discussion of such problems involves a thorough study of the techniques employed in making the pebbles, as also a study of geological and palaeontological data, relating to them. However it has been shown in the Seminar that 'soan' was not the only pebble culture in India but there were also other sites which yielded large numbers of pebbles that were similar or dissimilar to 'soan' pebbles, the study of which is still in its infant stage. "The extant evidence upto date seems to be in favour of considering the Soan as a viable local development which did not benefit by, nor showed consequences of its impact, whatever may be their nature, with the hand-axe culture early in its evolution" (p. 13). The explanation put forward by many scholars on this aspect of Indian Stone Age is useful and interesting and opens a fresh line of approach for a study of this problem.

The second topic relates to a study of various aspects of Pleistocene stratigraphy in India through the application of modern techniques which hitherto have not received much attention. The prospects of pollen analytical approach for the solution of stratigraphical problems have been well analysed and described

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by V. Mittre. R. V. Joshi also deals with the interpretation of Pleistocene stratigraphy in the light of fresh study made on river deposits.

In the third one, Sankalia deals with the definition of the Middle Stone Age culture in India and Pakistan as also its tool complex and stratigraphy. He discusses also elaborately the technique involved in the preparation of the implements and their probable utilitarian value in society in the period. Comments passed by various scholars of authority further enlighten our knowledge about the definition of the term and its chronological sequence in Indian Prehistory.

The fourth topic is the problem of the status of the Mesolithic Culture in Indian Prehistory. The meaning of the term 'Mesolithic' and its significance and distribution have also been critically analysed by scholars. As Misra observes 'its occupation of India was much more intensive and extensive than that of any of the two preceding Stone Age Cultures'. (p. 60). A table illustrating various types of tools in different regions is also given. The association of this culture with pottery and its chronology are some of the problems which need careful study and examination.

The discussions on the fifth topic contain useful information on the study of emergence of 'Neolithic Culture' in India. The study of this problem poses some difficulties such as the occurrence of metal objects in Neolithic sites in South India which cannot be answered at present. B. K. Thapar's division of this culture into zones such as north, south and east and his observations of some of the salient features of the culture in the respective regions are useful though tentative. His observations further suggest the need for careful study and analysis of traits such as typology, the stratigraphical context, dating etc. His opinion that Southern Neolithic culture had originated in the region itself appears to need more detailed study and planned field work. Though it has been generally accepted that the term 'Neolithic' means the exclusion of chalcolithic elements from it, the occurrence of copper objects in Neolithic sites in South India is not properly explained.

The origin, authors, chronology, extent and end of the Indus valley civilisation have been critically discussed by A. Ghosh in the

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sixth section. The dating of the civilisation has been discussed elaborately in the light of C 14 dating made available from various sites. The section also throws some welcome light on the study of the racial composition of the Harappan peoples. The seventh deals with the relationship of the Indian Chalcolithic cultures with West Asia, while the eighth section which is an important one deals with one of the puzzling problems in Indian Archaeology, namely the antiquity of iron in India which marks the technological advance of mankind. Archaeological evidence obtained from various excavations regarding the early use of iron in India has been discussed and also its association with the Megalithic burials in South India. It is held by N. R. Banerjee that the Aryans were the first to use iron in India but his opinion does not find support from other scholars who participated in the discussion. Its chronology also has been dealt with by D. P. Agarwal. But one of the most important points, namely its association with the Megalithic burials in the Peninsular India, requires more detailed examination.

In the ninth section Sankalia outlines the importance of the traditional accounts with regard to the problems such as chronology, people and their habits of certain excavated sites which may further be confirmed on C 14 dating. How soils and gravels help us in reconstructing ancient environment has been elaborately discussed by B. B. Lal in the tenth section. He observes "soils serve as climatic calendars and are studied for constructing climatic chronologies of the ancient past" (p. 237). The study of the phenomenon of formation of soils has also been stressed in this connection. The last section is devoted to 'Archaeology and Education' wherein the meaning of Archaeology and its importance in reconstructing the past have been dealt with by Sankalia.

On the whole the volume is useful for those who are interested in the field to have a bird's eye-view of the progress in the study of the Prehistory and Protohistory in India since Independence and the various problems connected with the subjects that require to be tackled in future. Instead of having a Seminar on various complicated topics and problems as done by the Deccan College, Poona, it will be useful if they are conducted on individual topics as suggested by H. D. Sankalia.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

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THE STONE AGE HILL DWELLERS OF TEKKALAKOTA: (Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Tekkalakota, by M. S. Nagaraja Rao and K. C. Malhotra, Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, Pp. XX + 164. Price Rs. 20/-.

This is a report of a small excavation conducted in 1963 at Tekkalakota, a neolithic site in the Mysore State, by M. S. Nagaraja Rao, formerly a student of the Deccan College, Poona and now Curator, Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwar. As the author says the Southern Deccan, particularly North Karnatak and the Andhra regions, have already proved their richness in neolithic settlements as revealed by the excavations at Brahmagiri, Sanganakkallu, Piklihal and a few other places. Tekkalakota is the sixth neolithic site excavated so far in the region. The most important fact about it is that it has an undisturbed cultural sequence left behind by the neolithic people alone. The author has also explored several natural rock shelters in and around the Tekkalakota hills (some of them with paintings and engravings). Though their date is uncertain they confirm the antiquity of the site.

Neolithic is an economic stage towards urbanisation and the excavations at the site have thrown ample evidence of the settled life of the people, their domestication of animals and the practice of primitive agriculture and potting by them. The excavations have also yielded a large number of tools of ground and pecked industry from the stratified deposits for the first time in the south, a detailed study of which will certainly throw welcome light on the typology of neoliths in South India.

The excavations have also yielded some concrete evidence on the structural activities of the neolithic inhabitants of the region. The houses were mostly circular structures with conical roofs. Mud plastering was the binding medium used in the construction. The several burials that have been exposed in the course of the excavations are generally fractional and extended. Though skeletal remains were unearthed in other sites in South India, they have not yet been taken up for study. But on the contrary, the skeletal remains collected from the burials from the site have been carefully examined and studied by K. G. Malhotra, Lecturer in Anthropology, Deccan College, Poona, a detailed report of which

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has also been included in the volume. This will certainly help scholars in the determination of the ethnology of the neolithic hill dwellers of the region.

Nagaraja Rao has, in a separate note, also attempted to give a short account of some of the salient features of the neolithic civilisation in the light of the interpretation of some of the excavated finds of considerable interest. He gives us a fairly good idea of contemporary life and society. The date of the site is c. 3500 B.C. as shown by the results of C 14 test. The author also attempts to trace out some cultural contacts between the people of the Karnatak and the contemporary chalcolithic people of the Deccan on the basis of the similarity of certain traits like burial customs, structural remains, pottery and blade industry. If excavations are conducted at the site on a large scale, as the author hopes to do in the near future, they may throw more light on various aspects of one of the most vital phases in Indian prehistory, namely the Neolithic. But in the meantime this Report will form a welcome addition to the growing literature on South Indian Prehistory.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF NORTHERN INDIA — c. A.D. 700-1200, by Lallanji Gopal, Reader in History, Banaras Hindu University, Motilal Banarsi Das, Delhi (1965), Pp. xxiv + 306, Price Rs. 15/-.

This work by Dr. Lallanji Gopal which was approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of London in 1962 deals with the socio-economic history of northern India from 700 to 1200 A.D., a period which served as the connecting link between the classical traditions of ancient Indian culture and the Turko-Muslim institutions under the Sultans of Delhi.

The book is divided into nine chapters. In the first chapter the author discusses the vexed question of the ownership of land. There were two different views on the subject namely peasant proprietorship and state ownership, the nature of both of which is well brought out. Besides the period saw the rise of feudal ideas as also the quasimanorial system, though there is no indi-

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cation that in ancient India cultivators were tied to the soil like the European serfs. In this connection the significance of the terms *prajā* or *parijana* is discussed in some detail. In the second chapter the author examines the revenue system during the period, analyses some revenue terms used in land grants and attempts to determine their meaning. With regard to *Turushka daṇḍa* about the nature of which there have been expressed various views the explanation offered by Sten Konow that it stood for a tax collected from the *Turushka* settlers in the Hindu kingdoms is accepted (p. 51) and it is compared to the tax on the Ajivikas and Uvachchas in south India. *Jalakara* is taken to mean an irrigation cess. The institution of slavery is discussed in the next chapter and it is shown that the period under study saw an increase in the number of slaves, largely on account of the deterioration in the general economic condition of the masses and marked decline in human values. The condition of the slaves was on the whole bad.

Chapter IV is devoted to a consideration of the position and influence of the guilds. The period saw the fall in the position of guilds on account of the growth of feudalism with its emphasis on rural and self-sufficient economy. "The guilds by this period appear to have become mostly fossilized into occupational sub-castes" (p. 82) and bear comparison to the eighteen guilds of south India. Chapter V deals with inter-state contacts and trade among different regions, the organisation of caravan trade, means of transport and conveyance, journey by road etc. It is shown that in the plains of north India rivers were often a better and safer means of travelling and transporting than roads. Bridges and boat bridges were in use. The next two chapters are devoted to a consideration of trade with foreign countries like China, Persia, Arabia and Asia Minor. It was carried on by overland route, though its fortune varied on account of the policies of the state and the political stability or otherwise of the areas concerned. The role of the Muslim merchants in the foreign trade of India increased in relation to that of the Indian merchants on account of many factors. The history of India's seaborne trade in the early medieval period is studied in a wider context. Among the countries with which India had trade connections by sea were Arabia, Ceylon, China and Indonesia. Indian traders were at a decided disadvantage because "Indian techniques of ship construction and navigation had by this time fallen behind those of the Arabs and Chinese".

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Indian ships could not move fast; Indian states could not protect the interests of Indian shipping; the coastal powers often resorted to piracy. These ultimately resulted in the decline of Indian shipping in general. The articles of import and export are dealt with in detail, as also the nature and volume of trade. The balance of India's profits appears to have decreased during the period. The next two chapters are devoted respectively to an account of the system of credit and banking and the coinage system. The practice of money-lending, realisation of debt, rates of interest, letters of credit and different types of banking institutions are described in detail. Money lending appears to have been a good means of livelihood for the higher castes (p. 173). The coinage system varied from region to region. Most of the coins of different kingdoms seem to have been based on the standard of a Greek *drachma* weighing 67.5 grains. Cowries also appear to have been used as money. Coined money was according to contemporary sources "the right, privilege and concern of the state though at times, it did not perform the function or else gave a free hand to private concerns especially in the matter of gold coins". (p. 223). In the last chapter the author analyses how the period under study is to be separated from earlier centuries on account of the feudal tendencies seen in it (pp. 231-232) and concludes it with a consideration of the general standard of living in the period, the impact of feudalism on society and the gradual stages in the decline of the economic conditions in northern India. The book is provided with a detailed bibliography and a good index.

In his foreword to the book Prof. G. C. Pande writes: "Despite its increasing vogue significant socio-economic history is exceedingly difficult to write and remains a tricky business; conceptual and methodological problems abound and are hardly susceptible of general and standardised answers". Dr. Lallanji Gopal has overcome such difficulties and has produced an interesting and well documented book on a comparatively less known aspect in the history of a difficult period in north India. This is a valuable and welcome addition to the slender literature on the subject.

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INDIAN POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS AND REFORM OF LEGISLATURE, (1818-1917), by Biman Behari Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Pp. VIII, 477, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, First Edition, November 1965, Price Rs. 25/-.

The author of the volume, B. B. Majumdar, a prolific writer on political, social and economic organizations in India, has collected very valuable material from original records of many communal organizations, from Government despatches, from contemporary pamphlets, journals and newspapers, to make the account accurate and broadbased. It is a pioneering attempt at portraying, in a comprehensive manner, the early beginnings and the subsequent development of public life in different parts of India in the 19th and early 20th century.

The book contains XIX chapters which trace, in a methodical manner, the beginnings of the awakening of political consciousness in India in the first half of the 19th century. The contribution made to the growth and evolution of this consciousness by the Trinity of Political Associations in the three Presidencies; by other minor Associations in India and England, by the India League, the Servants of India Society, the Madras Mahajana Sabha, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Indian National Congress, the Home Rule League and by the Moslem Associations was really considerable. The author has not failed to get at source material (Chapter XV) even from secret societies, which started stealthily to function consequent upon, what it considered, the failure to convince the British Government by constitutional agitations.

While sifting the material, the author has shown full awareness of the futility of being confined to the statements coming from any single source and hence has chosen to stand upon corroborative evidences from other sources also, like memoirs, reminiscences and autobiographies. The gagging of the press in an indiscriminate manner occasioned the rise of revolutionary newspapers which advocated secret organizations, political murders and other drastic activities. On the other hand eminent persons like Gokhale, Aurabindo, Sister Nivedita and Tilak expressed their views about the need for liberalization and democratisation of the Governmental machinery to make it a real mouthpiece of the people.

The successive and frequent dozes of reform of legislative bodies in India as in 1853, 1861, 1892, 1909, 1919, 1935 and 1947,

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were not, as the author points out, so much the outcome of the magnanimity of the British Government, as of the pressure of public opinion created by the organizations enumerated above. Militant nationalism and terrorist challenges contributed as much to the advance of constitutional changes as the peaceful agitations, in the early stages, of the Indian National Congress. However much the Britisher may proclaim his faith in his own sense of justice and humane spirit to carry out scrupulously 'The White man's burden' and moral commitment to the people of this vast subcontinent, yet, it cannot, with any sense of reason be denied that he was influenced by the agitational politics of educated Indians. The author is strongly convinced that the two world wars really accelerated the pace of reforms and the Acts of 1919 and 1935 were the direct outcome of the war-impact. The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 proved also an eye-opener to the authorities to usher in constitutional reforms at a quicker pace. In fact, a considerable volume of enlightened public opinion pressed the Government even prior to the birth of the Indian National Congress. At the earlier stages, M. K. Gandhi, the apostle of non-cooperation, was still thinking in terms of co-operation. The pressure from the Indian National Congress for more than three successive generations was also a major factor in the evolution of constitutional reform.

The book contains also Appendix I giving a list of minor Associations sending representatives to the Congress of 1886-88, Appendix II showing the regulation for the election of members for the Imperial Legislative Council of 1909 and a copious reference section containing a list of political and secret Associations. The index to names and organizations is thorough and complete. The volume is the product of a decade of strenuous work by the versatile author.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

SHAH ALAM II AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, by Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta, The World Press, (Private) Ltd., 1965. Pp. VIII and 148, Map, Bibliography, Glossary, Index, Rs. 25/-; 40s. net.

This slim well-produced volume narrates the story of the growing liquidation of Mughal sovereignty in the eighteenth cen-

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tury India and the stages by which British sovereignty took its place.

The story is told in seven chapters of which the first deals with Shah Alam's frantic efforts to escape the torments of Delhi politics and try his fortunes elsewhere by arresting the growth of British supremacy in eastern India by three expeditions which ended in smoke. In the second chapter is discussed the significance of the battle of Buxar and its logical sequel, the grant of the Diwani in 1765. The events and the circumstances leading to the restoration of Shah Alam at Delhi after some years of virtual imprisonment in the Allahabad Fort have been reviewed in chapter three. The fourth chapter takes up the stoppage of the Bengal tribute due to Shah Alam under the terms of the Diwani Grant and the disavowal of his sovereignty in the successive administrations of Verelst, Cartier, Warren Hastings and Cornwallis. The fifth chapter contains an account of the disturbed state of affairs in Delhi from 1778 to 1785 and the concern of the British about them. The bitter agonies of Shah Alam II in a highly pitiable condition on account of the brutalities of the Ruhela Chief, Ghulam Qadir, and other misfortunes, and the pathetic appeals for help to different quarters form the theme of the sixth chapter. In the last chapter the circumstances which led to the eclipse of Mughul sovereignty are summed up and a critical estimate provided of Shah Alam II's personality.

The work is well-written and based on a fresh study of the original sources in several languages. The author says that the idea of this study was put into his head by the late Sir Jadunath Sarkar and regrets that he was not able to complete the task during his lifetime.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

METHODOLOGY OF STUDY AND SCIENTIFIC WORK, by Father Dominic, O.C.D., Pp. XX and 331. Revised edition, St. Joseph's Pontifical Seminary, Alwaye 3, India, 1965.

Father Dominic is Professor of Theology and History of Religions in the Catholic Seminary at Alwaye. He first published this book in 1962 to 'fulfil the desire of the student who would

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like to have in a handy form a record of the various conclusions reached in the study of methodology during his academic course.' It has now been revised in response to suggestions received from different quarters and brought up-to-date.

The book is naturally oriented in the direction of the study and research in Religious History and Doctrine, particularly Christian and Catholic. But there is much in it that will be found useful by general students of other subjects as well, and its exposition is couched in modest and unassuming terms applicable practically to all fields of scientific study. The author is right in pointing out that the purpose of education is man's formation and not merely information. "Life is not merely knowledge....it requires a serene mind, a sound judgment and strong will. Study, taken in the right way, is an efficacious means to all three of them."

The book is divided into two parts corresponding to the two sections in its title; the first part, Methodology of study, comprises the first 10 chapters and is relatively brief (110 pages). It deals with all practical issues of a student's study programme, and gives suggestions on what to read, how to take down notes etc. Part two on scientific work is longer and more interesting (pages 111 to 318). It contains again practical hints on sources, bibliographies, how to use them and so on and its 16 chapters (11 to 26) lead the student systematically and step by step through all the stages of his research work from the choice of his subject for research to the publication of the results of his work in the form of learned articles or a book. This part is sure to be found helpful by students preparing their doctoral thesis in avoiding many common mistakes in method and form.

The book is a thorough and exhaustive treatment of the whole subject with a wealth of psychological detail and methodology based on works written in several languages. Altogether a welcome addition to the slender stock of Indian books on methods of research. The book is not altogether free of printing mistakes.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

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CRITIQUE OF INDIAN REALISM (*A study of the conflict between the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and the Buddhist Dignaga School*), by Dr. Dharmendra Nath Shastri, Pages 562, Published by the Agra University, 1964.

The author has given an account of some realist schools in Indian Philosophy. He has referred to four Buddhist schools, namely, the *Vaibhāṣika*, the *Sautrantika*, the *Yōgācara* and the *Mādhyamika*. He has drawn our attention to the *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* school and realism in some short notes. The *sāṃkhya* and the *yōga* systems believe in dual principles of *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*. The Buddhist conception of *avidyā* from the Prakṛtivādin's conception of *prakṛti* as the root cause of things and the Buddhist conception of *nāmarūpa* from the common idea of *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* need differentiation. Dr. Keith has discussed this point in his *Buddhist Philosophy* (p. 141) with the help of the *Visuddhimagga* of the celebrated Buddhist commentator of the 5th century A.D. named Buddhaghoṣa. The author's note on the historical survey of the *nyāya-vaiśeṣika* is interesting. In connection with the author's treatment of atoms, he should have consulted Jain texts, especially the *Bhagavatī sūtra*. The *Bhagavatī sūtra* clearly presupposes the development of atomic theory in Indian Philosophy. Some of the current theories are quoted and criticized (I. 10; II, 1; V, 7). According to the Jain theory as in the *Bhagavatī sūtra* each atom is the smallest unitary whole of matter (*pudgala*). Each of them is characterised by its internal cohesion (*siṇeha*). We cannot speak of a half atom since an atom is an indivisible unit of matter (*paramānoḥ ardhīkaraṇe paramāṇutvābhāvaprasaṅgāt*). A molecule (*aṇu*) is a combination of atoms more than one. There are many other points for discussion on the subject of atom to which I draw the attention of scholars. About the Buddhist theory of dependent origination (*Pratītyasamutpāda*) it may be pointed out that the term has been variously interpreted both by the Buddhist scholiasts and modern writers without sufficiently bringing out its philosophical import and implications. They have sought to explain it either as a doctrine of causation or that of dependent origination or that of becoming by the way of a cause, by the usual and oft-recurring formula of twelve *nidānas*. There are traditional expositions of twelve *nidānas* in many of the canonical texts and later commentaries in Pali and Sanskrit. There are several inscriptions referring to *Pratītyasamutpāda* as the funda-

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mental doctrine of Buddhism. It is difficult to realise the metaphysical significance of this doctrine. I have discussed this subject in my *Concepts of Buddhism* published by the Kern Institute of Leiden (Holland, 1937). It is not possible to fully discuss it here in a short space allowed. The author ought to have pointed out that *syādvāda,* (referred to by the author in p. 479 of his book under review), which forms the basis of Jain metaphysics and dialectics is still a doctrine which is very imperfectly understood. It consists of seven nayas or viewpoints from which assertions are made as to truth. According to this doctrine of *syādvāda* there are seven forms of metaphysical propositions and all contain the word, *syāt.* It stands out as an intellectual idea of that harmony among men which is based upon mutual understanding. In literature it has served as a basis of encyclopaedic knowledge. This doctrine was formulated as a scheme of thought in which there is room for consideration of all points of view and of all ideals.

As regards the author's treatment of *nirvāṇa* it may be added that according to Nāgārjuna *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are the two relative ideas and as such there can be difference but no absolute distinction between the two (*saṃsārasya ca nirvāṇasya nāsti kiñcit viśeṣatā*). If the significance of one term is dependent on the significance of the other, both stand on the same footing in respect of each other. There cannot be any conception of a relation between the two even in apposition, if there be not a common point of reference which is without differentiation or characterisation and from which ultimately each derives its significance. By implication this common point of reference is no other than *pratītya-samutpāda, dharmatā, tathatā* or *śūnyatā* which is introduced in the very opening verse of Nāgārjuna's *Kārikā.* The *pratītyasamutpāda* viewed and interpreted as a law of sequence of causal antecedents and consequents,—as causally determined continuity (*santati*), explains the essential nature of *saṃsāra.* The same viewed and interpreted as novelty (*uppādamatta, khaṇapaccuppanna*) without any idea of temporal or spatial relation associated with it, expresses the essential nature of *nirvāṇa* or infinity. In plain terms the *pratītyasamutpāda* in its *samutpāda* aspect is *saṃsāra* and the same in its *nirodha* aspect is *nirvāṇa* (cf. *Majjhima* I. p. 167). Buddhaghōṣa in his *Visuddhimagga* (II. p. 519) says that *uppādamatta* cannot be a valid interpretation

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of *pratītyasamutpāda*. For *khaṇapaccuppanna* vide *Atthasālinī*, Pp. 420 ff.

The author's laborious dissertation will be welcomed by those interested in the study of Indian realism. I am at a loss to understand why the *Early Sāṃkhya* by Johnston (Royal Asiatic Society Publication) does not find a place in the author's *Bibliography*.

B. C. LAW

ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE GAMPOLA PERIOD (1341-1415 A.D.), by Nandasena Mudiyanse, M.A., Pp. 1-194 with Plates containing 49 Figures and with 2 Plans, published by M. D. Gunasena and Co. Ltd., Colombo, 1965.

Gampola, a town in the Kandy District of the Central Province, Ceylon, was formerly called Gaṅgasiripura because it is situated on the bank of the Mahavali (Gaṅgā). It was the capital of a kingdom which comprised Central, Southern and South-Western Ceylon and flourished from 1341 to 1415 A.D. The work under review, dealing with the art and architecture of the Gampola kingdom, embodies the author's research work for the M.A. degree of the University of Colombo.

Chapter I of the book deals with the historical background and Chapter II with the sites of monasteries, temples, etc., of the Gampola kingdom. The remaining three out of the five chapters of the book discuss respectively architecture (Chapter III), sculpture (Chapter IV) and inscriptions (Chapter V). While Chapter IV includes the additional topics of the *Gajasiṁhas*, Moonstones, woodwork and painting, Chapter V not only contains introductory remarks on the epigraphic records but also their texts in the Roman script and translation into English.

The author's treatment of the subject is exhaustive and his views are generally sober. We congratulate Mr. Mudiyanse for his work, which is on the whole a creditable performance, and recommend it to the student of the history and culture of South-East Asia.

D. C. SIRCAR

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EARLY CĀḶUKYAN TEMPLES OF ANDHRA DESA (sic), Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series No. 20, pages 44 with 31 illustrations and 5 plates, by Dr. M. Rama Rao, M.A., Ph.D., Hyderabad, 1965; price Rs. 8·00 according to the front cover, but Rs. 6·50 according to the list of Departmental publications on the back cover.

Dr. M. Rama Rao has earned the gratitude of the student of Indian architecture and sculpture by publishing this short analytical study of the temples at Alampur, Satyavōlu and Mahānandi, their sculptures, etc. Of the 31 illustrations, 18 are from Alampur, 8 from Satyavōlu and 5 from Mahānandi.

We have found Dr. Rama Rao's short description of the temples, sculptures, etc., more useful than his 'Introduction' which contains some of his 'theories', since it is difficult to agree with him on many points. Thus he says, "The spread of a style from one place to another generally presupposes the spread of political influence" (p. 5). It seems to us, however, that the spread of style, etc., is essentially dependent on the migration of artists and artisans. We know how a group of silk-weavers of South Gujarat settled in West Malwa and how a renowned sculptor of Mathurā was responsible for the construction of a colossal stone image at Kasia in the present Deoria District. See *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 81ff; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 200.

As regards minor errors, we may draw the learned author's attention to p, 6, note 1, wherein, for the British Museum plates of Cārudevī, we are wrongly referred to *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 1-10. The correct reference is *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 143-46.

The printing of the monograph (including illustrations) was expected to be better in a Government publication. We request the learned author to remove the numerous misprints in the second edition. The Director of Archaeology and Museums of Andhra Pradesh may also be requested to revise his introductory note.

The monograph under review contains the names of 34 books, etc., in a list of publications of the Department of Archaeology, Government of Andhra Pradesh. The revised edition of the *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, published by the same Department in 1958, is conspicuous by its absence from the list. We wonder why the publication has been suppressed and its sale withheld.

D. C. SIRCAR

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POLITICAL IDEALS OF PLATO, by Nirmal Joshi, Pp. 127, Published by P. C. Manaktala and Sons (Private) Ltd., Bombay, 1965. Price Rs. 11/50.

This is a brief study of Plato's political views on which there is already a vast literature. As a background to his study the author begins with an analysis of the state of Anomy which prevailed in Athens at the time when Plato wrote. This is a psychopathological state of society "in which the influence of the society on the individual tends to weaken, and he finds himself in a psychological condition where deprived (or almost so) of enthusiasm, faith and virtue he fails to adapt himself successfully to a new situation.....The social directives of the belief-systems no longer satisfy the demands of the individual and they are rationally or impulsively rejected. At the same time no new belief-system has arisen to take the place of the foregone" (p. 21). The author quotes this definition of Anomy by Durkheim and holds the Sophists responsible for its prevalence in Athens by the end of the fifth century B.C. This is at best a debatable point. The degradation in the domains of politics, philosophy, religion and art that necessarily followed has been described in detail. His observations on the degradation of social ideas are worth quoting, as Modern India has much to learn from it: "One could declare in public that 'we have wives that our name may be perpetuated, concubines that our needs may be cared for, courtesans that we may be diverted'. There was a complete transformation of ideas pertaining to marriage, and sex morality continued to decline. The desire to limit the family was one of the dominant causes. Infanticide, abortion, and contraception came into vogue and were permitted by the social conscience. Infringements of codes which would have scandalized the society a bare fifty years earlier ceased even to shock them" (Pp. 36-7).

The author then delineates how Plato did not suggest piecemeal specific social reforms but drew up an idea picture of a new pattern of society which contained foreign, even non-European, elements. The author supports the view that some of them bear a striking resemblance to the Indian system. Evidently as an example of the influence of the Indian caste system, the author points out that in Plato's system "the functions of ruling, protection and production are allotted to the different classes and the

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citizens find their place in the appropriate class on the basis of the element which preponderates, his aptitude and training. The guardians possessing the rational spirit and being versed in philosophy are to guide and rule while others are to follow" (p. 51). Education, according to Plato, "should be designed in such a way as to bring out the fullest potentialities of everyone receiving instructions", and "the highest spiritual substance—the love for beauty, truth, and justice—should be instilled" (p. 54). This is, of course, for "the guardian classes who are to be trained for the highest duties of the State". Plato "ignores the lowest class of citizens". The author emphasizes the fact that Plato "was the first European philosopher to emphasize the role of education as a positive step in the building up of the character of the citizens, to preach that education must continue throughout life".... (Pp. 63-4).

These views of Plato have great value in our days, even though we may ignore or deplore his many other views such as breeding the best citizens to form an aristocracy of virtue by developing eugenic principles, communism of property and wives, etc. (p. 83). The unrestrained dictatorship of the philosopher-rulers which Plato offers as a sovereign remedy practically means a totalitarian state. This may appear to be very strange, as Athenian democracy is generally regarded as the most successful in the ancient world. The author's discussion of this problem is thorough and critical, and his views may be summed up as follows: Plato had good reasons to deplore democracy. It is presumed in a democracy "that the general public opinion is enlightened and fully cognizant of its needs, rights, responsibilities, and duties. Unfortunately, democracy has so far failed to establish its tall claims" (p. 87). Plato realized it by the conduct of the representative assemblies of Greek city-states in his own days. In them prevailed "a state of affairs where selfishness and individualism ran riot, amateurish incompetence was the rule among the statesmen, there was no criterion for educating and selecting the best men, mob-rule often prevailed" (p. 97). The author rightly observes that democracy, as it is understood today, is very different. It presupposes "that citizens in the exercise of their rational judgment will select such individuals as likewise believe (in the intrinsic worth and dignity of human personality), are most competent and are otherwise the best available in the society, who in the exercise of their duties

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will be guided by the highest principles and objectives" (p. 97). But the author himself mournfully points out that in actual practice democracy has failed to stand these tests. He has obviously his eyes on the Indian democracy which is hailed as the greatest (? rather largest) democracy in the world, and no Indian outside the Congress rank is likely to challenge his statement.

But the problem which the author does not seriously tackle is whether the substitute proposed by Plato, viz. a government by philosopher-dictator, is practicable, and if so, whether it would stand the test. But he has hinted at the truth when he quotes Plato's views that if the institutions and value structures of a society are to be improved the character of the citizens must be improved. They must be educated and transformed, because otherwise even the best institutions will not yield the expected results.

Though the author's style is not always very clear and lucid and he does not give us a systematic exposition of Plato's political ideals, still the discussion of these in a somewhat sporadic manner would give food to the thought of every Indian who is seriously disturbed by the present trends of thoughts and events in India. Everyone will agree with the author's estimate of Plato in the following words: "Everything that Plato wrote may be rejected or even discredited but none of it shall ever diminish his ever-lasting contribution—that reason and logic is the *élan vital* exhorting civilisation to progress and that ignorance and folly are the fetters which it seeks to chisel in order to attain the highest forms mankind is capable of achieving" (p. 8). We might add to it Plato's emphasis on the highest education as essential for the management of the government, for, it seems that certain classes applaud the lack of it as more suitable for the government of the people, who are backward in education, by the people who belong to the same category.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

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DAILY LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA from approximately 200 B.C. to A.D. 700, by Jeannine Auboyer, Pp. 344, Translated from the French by Simon Watson Taylor, Published by Asia Publishing House, 1965.

This book is sure to disappoint those who still cherish a high opinion of European scholarship in the history of ancient India. Its fine printing and get-up belie the value of its contents. The author's lack of knowledge is only matched by his deplorable want of critical ability in handling the sources of ancient Indian history. The author seems to be completely out of touch with the progress in Indological studies during the last half a century. But even that would hardly justify the statement that "the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads, and the Āraṇyakas together constituted a new Veda, the Vedāṅgas" (p. 5). Even a school boy should have known better. For Alexander's invasion he seems to have relied only on Plutarch's account—an unpardonable lapse—but even then it is difficult to justify the statement that "Porus probably reigned in the Punjab" (p. 9) as if there is any doubt on this point. He puts the accession of Chandragupta Maurya in 313-12 B.C. showing that he has no acquaintance with any text-book on Indian history written in the twentieth century. The following specimens, occurring within five pages, would give the reader an idea of the most amusing statements in which the book abounds: "It seems that Puṣyamitra drove back the (Greek) invaders though it remained to his grandson to repel them finally to the other side of the Indus" (Pp. 12-3). "The Kuṣānas had been installed in Northern India for more than a century by the time that Kaniṣka appeared on the scene" (p. 14). "The Guptas reconstituted practically the whole of Aśoka's empire" (p. 17). But the climax is reached in the following passage: "The Guptas were perfectly deliberate in imitating their glorious predecessor, and it is doubtless no coincidence that their first emperor bore the same name as Aśoka's grandfather, the founder of the Maurya dynasty. Similarly Samudragupta's motives were quite clear when he chose one of the columns erected by Aśoka in order to engrave on it his own panegyric and an enumeration of his conquests" (p. 17). One rubs his eyes, wondering, whether he is reading a novel or a history. After this one scarcely feels surprised when he reads that the Emperor Budhagupta was driven out of Malwa (p. 18), or that after Harṣa's death "Indian civilization ceased to exist temporarily" (p. 19) and

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the subsequent history of India is on a local plane (p. 20). Even if he had glanced over the pages of a text-book on Indian history used in Indian schools he would have been aware of the existence of the Empires founded by the Pālas and the Pratihāras each of which was far more extensive and far more durable than the empire of Harṣa. But in this case the author's ignorance has been a bliss to the Indians, for he did not on that account continue his study beyond 650 A.D. and inflict more specimens of his antics such as have been quoted above.

The author's lack of critical sense is evident in almost everything he has written. Although he has selected the period from 200 B.C. to 700 A.D. for his study, he has drawn upon the sensational details of the folk-tales in the *Jātakas* to portray a vivid and horrible picture of the life of the slaves in India resembling the lot of Negro slaves in America (pp. 33-34). But he exceeds all limits when he describes the horrible lot of prisoners, as the following lines will show: "Many prisoners died as a result of the tortures inflicted upon them and the privations they endured. They were left without food or water, suffering from the cold or the heat, lying helpless in their own excrement, usually sick, often leprous; their nails, hair and beard were never cut; their ankles were clamped into holes in a wooden frame and they wore handcuffs." This is only a prelude to the more horrible pictures of the daily life of the prisoners (pp. 59-60). He cites no evidence in support of these outrageous statements, but even couples Aśoka's name with it, and mentions "the fact that his prisons had the reputation of never allowing a single one of their guests to emerge alive" (p. 60). He quotes a passage from an inscription of Asoka referring to 'torture'. Of course there is no such thing in the inscriptions of Asoka. He quotes from the translation of Asoka's Edicts by N. A. Nikam whose name the reviewer has never heard. It is a pity that one who has the presumption to write on Asoka did not care to read any of the numerous standard books on the subject and the translation of Asoka's Inscriptions by Hultszch, Bhandarkar, Basak or Barooah, to mention only a few. There is not a word of torture in the passage misquoted by him; but on the other hand it shows great anxiety about the good treatment of the prisoners and giving an opportunity to those condemned to death for mutation of the capital sentence. It is difficult to conceive of a greater perversion of truth.

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A book which bristles with such accounts of the "Daily Life in Ancient India" cannot be taken seriously and does not deserve a more detailed review. The Asia Publishing House has got some reputation as a publisher. Publication of books of this kind is sure to damage it, and the sooner they withdraw this book from publication the better for them.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

FREEDOM AND DEVELOPMENT, Pp. xvi, 82, published by the India International Centre, New Delhi, 1965, Price Rs. 8/-.

This is a collection of five lectures delivered at the India International Centre in March and April, 1965, by five eminent scholars, each dealing with the meaning and role of freedom in relation to a specific field of development—social, political, economic, educational, and individual. Most of them have been at pains to analyse the broad concept of freedom into its essential elements. To the two ordinary meanings of freedom of an individual such as freedom from foreign rule and the tyranny of another individual in his own society, T. H. Marshall has added a few others such as "liberation from the restrictive bonds of old traditions and customs, freedom from the ties that hold a man fast within his social group, and freedom to move, to experiment, and to adventure to the unknown" (p. 1). All these, he thinks, have played their part in social development and continue to do so. But, as he rightly points out, "for the greater part, the essence of freedom consists in the right and power to choose and to act according to one's choice. And the right to choose, if it is to have real substance, must include the right to choose wrongly and to take the consequences" (p. 2). This raises the problem of striking the balance between *laissez-faire* and a planned society, and the solution suggested by Marshall is that "individual liberty in a developed or developing society is possible only under the cover of state action, while, at the same time, state action carried to excess can destroy individual liberty" (p. 3). This contingency is almost a certainty, and Marshall was fully conscious of this danger in a country like India as the following observations would show: "When independence has been won by a movement led by a man whose achieve-

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ment makes of him the symbol of freedom, and when that man then forms the first government of the independent state, strong forces are at work to create a monopoly of power, resistance to which comes to be regarded as treason" (p. 20). Another writer, quoted by Marshall, is still more explicit on this point: "Government becomes a bureaucratic master of the people instead of being its democratic servant. And masterful bureaucracy is already some way along the path that leads to totalitarianism" (p. 21).

Gabriel Almond, discussing freedom as a factor in political development, has analysed 'the attitudes and characteristics' among a substantial part of the population in Britain and America which have given stability to their democracies. But he adds that these "democratic characteristics were attained in England over a period of some six or seven centuries, slowly by stages" (p. 29). Referring to India he draws attention to the fact "that there is a conflict between demands for defence and those of economic growth. There is a conflict between demands for economic growth and demands for welfare. There is a conflict between national cohesion and democratization. At least in the short run, democratization mobilizes particularistic and disintegrating tendencies. India lacks the luxury of time and the possibility of confronting and solving these issues one by one" (p. 31).

V. K. R. V. Rao, discussing freedom as a factor in economic development, lays stress on the fact that neither freedom of association in the context of economic development, i.e. trade unionism, nor political freedom such as the adult franchise, has been a factor in the economic development of either a capitalist or communist system. "Take for example", says he, "the Soviet Union, which is called a people's democracy. There we do not find what we generally associate with the term democracy, a multi-party system, with freedom of the press, freedom of association, and the existence of opposition parties which can function in complete freedom under the law;....". One of the major difficulties of India, according to Rao, is caused by the fact that "we have freedom neither in the private sector corresponding to what took place in the U.K. and U.S. in the early stages of economic growth, nor the freedom in the public sector corresponding to what has been taking place in the recent decades in the communist states. On the other hand, we have restraints on the public entrepreneurs because of political freedom and demo-

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cracy, and restraints on the private sector because of the freedom of association of the workers and labour legislation" (p. 44). This should be an eye-opener to the people and the Government of India.

Discussing freedom as a factor in educational development Samuel Mathai points his finger at most of the prevailing abuses. He emphasizes "three important areas of freedom which we ought to be thinking about when we speak about freedom as a factor in education: the freedom of the pupil, the freedom of the teacher, the freedom of the institution" (pp. 53-4). An aspect of freedom, according to Mathai, is the right to experiment. But, he adds, "unfortunately some of the experiments that we have tried in our national system of education have been, shall we say, experiments imposed from above, and they have often caused us more trouble than good" (p. 56). Mathai has done a great service by drawing our attention to the great evils that have already begun to cripple education. He puts it rather mildly when he refers to them as 'two temptations'. "There is first of all the temptation to make education the instrument of state policy. There is, secondly, the temptation to exercise the power of the purse and to seek to control and regulate education from the point of view of the person or the people who provide money for education." The first temptation is often publicly denied, but Mathai rightly points out that "actually this temptation is a very subtle temptation and exists all the time and we need to be vigilant against it. Every state has the temptation to seek to regiment the minds of its youth. Often it is in the name of patriotism that this is done. ..... Academic freedom comes from being free and by a stout refusal to be regimented in matters of the mind." It is a timely warning which every Indian should take seriously. Mathai has also made weighty observations on many important issues such as lack of discipline among students. Referring to various malpractices in the running of our educational institutions (p. 64) he rightly observes: "There are tyrannies within the edcuational institutions which are sometimes more deadly than any pressure from outside" (p. 60).

By way of contrast to the first four lectures that of Kali Prasad on such an important subject as 'freedom as a factor in individual development" is of little practical value, and is mainly an abstruse philosophical discussion. He refers to the paradox

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that hard efforts to win freedom are followed by willing surrenders of freedom in exchange of the much-needed feeling of security. In his opinion "the increasing isolation and powerlessness brought on by economic conditions in contemporary culture lead to escape either into authoritarian ways or to compulsive conformism. In either case, the individual is suppressed and has little opportunity for development. .... This situation occurs because the new security structures associated with democracy have not yet developed fully" (pp. 78-80). On the whole the publication is a valuable one and deserves serious study.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT, ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT (1858-1906), by M. S. Jain, M.A., Ph.D., pp. xi 201, Published by Sri Ram Mehra and Co., Agra, 1965.

This book is a valuble addition to the growing literature on the Aligarh Movement. It first traces the historical background and the genesis of the Movement, and then gives a detailed acount of its various aspects—educational, religious, social and political. Most of the views put forward by the author have already been expressed by a few writers who were not blind apologists of Sir Sayyid Ahmad and whose vision was not obscured by idealism and sentimentalism. But the credit of the author lies in the fact that he has supported these views by a formidable array of documentary evidence and has treated the subject with a wealth of details which testify to his patient industry and critical judgment. He has also traced the gradual evolution of the thoughts and ideals of the great Muslim leader and has brought to light some of those which are little known and are certainly not very creditable to him. One such specimen will be found on p. 24 in which he brands all the natives of India as so many beasts as compared with a civilized Englishman, though at one time he had been a great admirer of native culture and a great critic of the English.

The author has described in detail the well-known activities of Sayyid Ahmad in a strictly objective manner with full reference to authorities. He has also described the success of his efforts—how he transformed the openly declared antipathy of the

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British Government towards the Muslim community into one of whole- hearted sympathy and support, how the undisguised hostility of the Muslims against the British Government was converted to the most sincere loyalty and allegiance, and how the Muslims were induced to give up their repugnance to English education and took full advantage of the educational facilities placed at their disposal. Reference has also been made to his less successful efforts to modernise the Muslims by bringing about social and religious changes, which involved a re-interpretation of the Koran. From this point of view the Aligarh Movement, according to the author, "failed even during the lifetime of the founder" (p. 183). As far as the educational aspect of the Movement is concerned, the author has tried to demonstrate, not without success, that "the Aligarh Movement confined its attention only to the aristocracy because the main object of the movement had been to produce the future leaders of the Muslim community. The movement was not for educating the Muslim masses". (p. 182).

According to the author's assessment it was in the political field that Sayyid Ahmad's success was phenomenal. It is no wonder, therefore, that this aspect of the Aligarh Movement figures prominently in the book. The author holds that the main object of the Muhammadan Educational Conference set up by Sayyid Ahmad in 1886 was political rather than educational and in its early stages its "one solitary and grand achievement was in the political sphere where it had successfully mobilised Muslim public opinion against the Indian National Congress" (p. 80). The author points out in this connection that 'the Conference was not a gathering of the learned, having expert knowledge of education or educational technicalities, who could competently discuss educational problems and their intricacies. It was a gathering of people who came together from a political point of view" (p. 90). In support of this opinion the author draws our attention to the fact that the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association was formed at the session of the Educational Conference in 1893 and the "Muslim League was formed in 1906 at a meeting of the Educational Conference at Dacca" (pp. 89-90).

Few could possibly deny the truth of the following observations made by the author in view of the documentary evidence cited by him: "The most important political objective of the Aligarh

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Movement was the attainment of an equal share for the Muslims, vis-a-vis the Hindus, in the future set-up of India .... It was this desire .... that led Sir Sayyid Ahmad, the leader of the movement to condemn and criticise all attempts at the inroduction of representative form of government in India. .... The Aligarh leaders argued that the introduction of a democratic form of government would result in the permanent subjugation of the minority community" (pp. 111-12). It is very difficult to agree with the author when he dismisses the above arguments as fallacious (p. 112) and regards as groundless the fear of the Muslims that they would not be treated fairly by the Hindu majorities (p. 180). Nor is it possible to approve of the following criticism of Sayyid Ahmad: "There was no question of a common religious programme and a united India would not have been difficult to create on the basis of a common political and economic programme by a patriotic Indian leader of eminence, understanding and vision. Had Sir Sayyid thought of uniting the two communities and of laying down a path for the two communities to follow, he would have fulfilled that role. But he rejected this line of action purposely. His desire to establish Muslim superiority led him to assume an uncompromising attitude towards the Hindus and he preferred to chalk out the path of a communalist rather than that of an Indian patriot or a nationalist" (p. 178). In making these comments the author seems to have oversimplified the political problem of India. The difficulty met with in free India to form an integrated Bharat should have convinced the author that a common political and economic programme is not enough to build up a united India and a statesman can ignore other factors such as religion, regionalism, etc. only at his peril. Besides, to brand Sayyid Ahmad as a communalist rather than an Indian patriot or a nationalist seems to be a rather too sweeping and unmerited condemnation. A leader of the Muslim community should not be condemned outright if he honestly believed that the Muslim community would enjoy far greater rights and privileges and its material interests would be more secure under British rule than in free India under the Parliamentary system of Government with a permanent overwhelming majority of the Hindus. He may be wrong in his belief but his fears cannot be brushed aside as altogether groundless. It is also unfair for a Hindu to find fault with a Muslim leader because he could not be an Indian patriot or nationalist. Freedom of India

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was sure to pay a rich dividend to a Hindu while in all probability a Muslim might even lose the position he enjoyed in British India. It was therefore much easier for a Hindu to play the role of a patriot and nationalist than for a Muslim.

On some important points the author has challenged the generally accepted views. The first is the influence of the British, particularly of Principal Beck, in moulding the thoughts and ideas of Sayyid Ahmad, more specially his anti-Hindu ideas and opposition to the Indian National Congress. The author has brought forward sufficient evidence to prove, what a few scholars have already suggested, that the general belief that Sayyid Ahmad was materially influenced by Beck has no foundation in fact (pp. 116ff).

Secondly, the author refutes the idea that the Muslim Deputation to Lord Minto in 1906 was a "Command Performance". By cogent arguments he has proved that there was nothing new in the demands made by the Deputation, but all the essential points, including separate electorate and weightage, were formulated by the Muslims long before that. He also emphasizes the fact that "the Muhammadans had thought of sending a deputation to the British Government in 1896 to put forward demands similar to those put forward by the Simla deputation in 1906" (p. 154). Nevertheless, it is difficult to deny that the idea of the deputation which was abandoned in 1896 was revived ten years later mainly through the machinations of some Englishmen in high office, and was not unlikely suggested by the Viceroy or done with his full knowledge. The part played by Archbold and Dunlop Smith, the confession of Muhammad Ali at a later date that it was a command performance, and the revelations made in Lady Minto's Diary leave no doubt on this point.

The author alleges that "Sir Sayyid's supposed advoacy of Hindu-Muslim unity is a myth created by interested persons" (p. 137). He challenges Noman and others who hold such a view "to point out a single speech, writing or statement in which he (Sayyid Ahmad) might have asked his co-religionists to befriend the Hindus." There are undoubtedly some such statements, but he either interprets them differently (p. 142) or finds 'a clue to them' in "his anxiety to secure financial donations for the Aligarh College" (p. 140). Here, again the author has defended his position by reference to a number of documents. Nevertheless, one

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feels that in this matter as well as in his general assessment of Sir Sayyid he sometimes takes the attitude of an advocate rather than that of a judge which is more befitting to a historian.

But in spite of some occasional lapses, the author has, on the whole, made an independent and unbiassed approach to the subject. Although one may not fully agree with the views or opinions expressed by him, there is no denying the fact that he has given a comprehensive and objective picture of the Aligarh Movement, probably for the first time, and explained its bearing on Indian politics. He has also brought fresh data in order to remove many misapprehensions or misconceptions on the subject. His book is specially to be valued as a piece of research work showing industry, critical sense and independene of judgment which are very rare qualities in these days.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

THE IMPACT OF PRICE MOVEMENTS ON AREAS UNDER SELECTED CROPS IN INDIA, 1900-39 by Dharm Narain, pp. 234. 45 Sh., Cambridge University Press, 1965.

Even in economically advanced countries where agriculture has been very much commercialized, the response in area under cultivation and in output to variations in price has been found to be less pronounced than in the case of industrial production. This dissimilarity between the primary and secondary sectors which is basically due to the differences in the nature, organisation and techniques of production in the two spheres of productive activity is particularly noticeable in economically backward countries where agricultural economy is mostly of a subsistence nature. It should however, be noted that this generalization about the lack of response in agricultural production to price incentive may be true in respect of agricultural output as a whole, but need not be true of each individual crop. In the present book the author has addressed himself to the task of finding out how far this observation is borne out by evidence in India. He makes a detailed study of two food crops—rice and wheat—and four commercial or cash crops—sugar cane, cotton, jute and groundnut. His investigation covers the period, 1900-39, and

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in its spatial aspect pertains to the territory known prior to independence as British India.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I containing the first three chapters presents the problem and the hypothesis and outlines the procedure of investigation and the nature of the data collected. Of the seven chapters comprising Part II, six deal with the different crops and the last chapter contains a summary of the findings. The technique of analysis is simple, confined to graphic examination of the available evidence. The statistics relate to crop areas, crop prices, crop yields and rainfall. These variables are presented in time series diagrams which reveal the appropriate order of magnitude between one variable and another. At the end of the study Prof. Dharm Narain makes the conclusion that in general the Indian farmer is actuated by profit motive like his counterpart elsewhere but that there is a striking difference between cash crops and food crops in the matter of their response to the price stimuli. He finds that while in the case of the former group of crops the response in India is as significant as that in a highly industrialized country like the U.S.A., in the case of food crops there is little affinity between price and area sown. On the other hand, in the latter, there is a close correlation between area under cultivation and variations in rainfall. This difference between food and cash crops is not due to the commercial-mindedness of the farmers concerned with the cash crops as against the subsistence psychology of the grower of food crops, but due essentially to the character of the crops in the two categories.

Apart from its value as a careful statistical study, Dr. Narain's book furnishes some useful information relating to agricultural conditions in India and as such, would recommend itself not only to Economists and Statisticians, but also to all those interested in the problems of agriculture in an underdeveloped economy.

D. Bright Singh.

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INDIAN FEUDALISM: c. 300-1200 by Prof. Ram Sharan Sharma. University of Calcutta. Price Rs. 15.

The book is based on six lectures delivered by Prof. Ram Sharan Sharma at the University of Calcutta in 1964.

In chapter I he deals with the *Origins and First Phase of Feudalism from c. 300 to 700 A.D.;* and as feudalism can mean many things according to one's standpoint, he is careful to define it by saying that to him "the political essence of feudalism lay in the organisation of the whole administrative structure on the basis of land: its economic essence lay in the institution of serfdom in which peasants were attached to the soil held by landed intermediaries placed between the king and the actual tillers, who had to pay rent in kind and labour to them. The system was based on a self-sufficient economy in which things were mainly produced for the local use of the peasants and their lords and not for market." That feudalism had its beginning in these senses from the Gupta, and especially post-Gupta period onwards has been convincingly proved by the evidence that he has adduced. The decentralisation of political power in India, however, as he points out began, unlike in Europe, not with fiefs granted to comrades-in-arms but with land-grants to priests and temples who were gradually given the right not only to punish thieves but also all offences against family, property, person etc.; and what was abandoned step by step first to the priestly class was later on abandoned also to the warrior class of the country. On the economic side he compares the Brāhmaṇa *agrahāras* to manors, "or in some cases the beneficiaries enjoyed the right of levying forced labour on their tenants". Serfdom also had its beginnings with land-grants to priests, because according to many grants the land was made over to the donee with its inhabitants. Other features of feudalism stressed in chapter I are the restriction on the movements of the peasants, artisans and merchants, the paucity of coins, and the retrogression of trade.

Chapter II is entitled "*Feudal Polity in Three Kingdoms* (*c. A.D.* 750-1000), the three kingdoms referred to in this case being those of the Pālas, the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Pratihāras. In this period, the process of transferring fiscal and administrative rights to the recipients of land grants is shown to have continued,

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and it is held that the expression *daśāparādhadaṇḍa* in the Pāla grants covered all offences against family, property and person. In the Pratihāra empire the process of decentralising appears to have been still stronger. The Rāshṭrakūṭas made more religious grants than the other two and gave religious donees more coercive powers than even the Pālas. There is evidence also to show that under the Rāshṭrakūṭas military service was paid by land-grants and that some officials were paid by specified taxes. The Pratihāra system differed from the Pāla system in that it provided for subinfeudation. Another distinguishing feature of that polity was the imposition of clan aristocracies on old settled villages. The feudalisation of the titles of kings and officials and the shifting of capitals are pointed out as other feudal elements in early mediaeval polity.

Chapter III deals with *Feudal Economy in Three Kingdoms,* the period dealt with being the same as in the previous chapter. The four broad developments in this connection are said to be: (i) growth of individual ownership of land at the cost of royal and communal ownership; (ii) subjection of peasantry; (iii) conversion of income from trades and crafts into benefices; and finally (iv) the existence of self-sufficient economy strengthened by lesser use of coins and comparative absence of trade.

In chapter IV the author takes up the connected problem of *Early Mediaeval Land Rights from c.A.D.* 500 *to* 1200. A survey of the relevant evidence leads him to conclude that legal texts sanction royal as well as individual rights in land. The theory of royal ownership permitted the ruler to make large-scale grants for various purposes. Individual ownership permitted the individual to lease land to tenants and sub-tenants. Both theories were suited to the feudal conditions of the period as they undermined communal rights, and reduced peasants to the position of serfs.

Chapter V is entitled *The Heyday of Political Feudalism* (c. *A.D.* 1000-1200). India, as the author points out, has never been so completely politically disintegrated as on the eve of the Turkish conquest. Service grants of land during this period have been found in Orissa and the states which arose on the ruins of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire. The military aspect stands out

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prominently in the grants made by the Chandellas. The Gāhaḍavālas made many grants to civil officials, chiefly Brāhmaṇas. Fiscal units of 84 are mentioned in Chāhamāna and Paramāra grants. Feudatories and vassals are also mentioned very often; and officers are found being paid by regular and exclusive levies for them. Military beneficiaries were a very numerous class and some idea of their obligations can be had from the *Lekhapaddhati.*

Chapter VI is entitled the *Climax and Decline of Feudal Economy* (*c. A.D.* 1000-1200). It thus completes the information contained in the previous chapter. As the author points out, the picture that emerges is one of contrasts. On one side there is intensification of feudal tendencies like subinfeudation, conversion of revenue from various sources into religious benefices, and depression of peasantry in various ways; on the other, forced labour disappears, internal and external trade revives, and money exchange revives over a very wide area.

In chapter VII Prof. Sharma presents his conclusions. If we take feudalism in the sense of a "social order in which the possessing class appropriated the surplus produce of the peasants by exercising superior rights over their land and persons" he would not place the rise of feudalism before the advent of the Guptas.

The book has two very useful appendices, *The Land System in Mediaeval Orissa* (*c. A.D.* 750-1200) and *"Fortified Settlements under Palas and Candellas"*, a good Bibliography and a useful Index.

Prof. Sharma's book is an excellent study of the problem and the first that has dealt comprehensively with it. On the following points, however, we would like to make a few observations:—

Page 3. The phrase *ājñāvidheyair=bhūtvā* occurring in land-grants is interpreted by him to mean that residents were not only to pay the customary taxes but also *to carry out the donee's commands.* But actually it may mean nothing more than that the residents should, *in obedience to* (*royal*) *orders* pay the customary dues to the donee.

Page 6. The Indore grant authorising the grantee to enjoy the field, cultivate and get it cultivated so long as he observes the conditions of the *brahmadeya* grant is believed to provide perhaps

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the earliest epigraphic evidence of subinfeudation. As Brāhmaṇas did not take kindly to agriculture, the cultivation of land by others must have been common enough. But this need not mean sub-infeudation. In fact very few people could have liked to be their tenants, if they tried to carry out Parāśara's injunction that a Brāhmaṇa who had his lands cultivated was to yoke eight oxen to the plough, yoking six being, middling, four cruel and two even worse than that (*Parāśara*, XI. 2).

Page 13. A donee named Pulindabhaṭa is said to have been "an aboriginal chief". But on page 37 he is described as "evidently a Brāhmaṇa". The mistake must be due to oversight.

Page 18. The sense "carrying" which Prof. Sharma gives to *anuvaha* in Kullūka's comment on Manu. III. 7 does not seem correct. The words there are, *"Śvitra-kushṭha-yuktānāṁ kulāni varjayed...drishṭamūlatā chāsya pratishedhasya mātulavadutpannā anuvahante."*

Page 20. The word *murdhābhishiktāmātya* is supposed to indicate that the title *amātya* had become feudalised. But *murdhābhisheka* mostly denoted that a person had been invested with some high office. Investiture of *yuvarājas* and *mahādevīs* is well-known. *Abhisheka* of *senāpatis* finds prominent mention in the *Mahābhārata*.

Page 23. A village which served as the resort of royal favourites makes the author conclude that these favourites were a group of intermediaries. This is rather doubtful. A better example from the same chapter of the *Purāṇa* is that of a *śākhānagara* which is defined as *"mantri-sāmanta-bhuktimat"*, or one given for the *bhukti* of *mantrin* or *sāmanta*.

Page 31. *Raghuvaṁśa*, XVII. 66 does not exactly support the author's contention that this verse records the "old tradition of elephants being the exclusive possession of the king", The verse merely states that the earth gave him the wages he deserved in the form of jewels from mines, corn from fields and elephants from forests. Even the demons in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* are not represented as cornering everything; they claim only the best of everything, elephants, horses and women (85. 58-65).

Page 79. (i) The Barāh Plate of Bhojadeva is believed by the author to have been made by a feudatory with the approval of

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Nāgabhaṭa II. Actually it was a grant by the Maukhari *Parameśvara Śarvavarman.* It was confirmed by Nāgabhaṭa II when he came into the possession of Kālañjara-maṇḍala as a result probably of the defeat of Chakrāyudha.

(ii) The Daulatpurā grant of Bhojadeva, on the same page is said to have become ineffective during the reign of his great grandfather, Vatsarāja. This is a misstatement. The grant became ineffective somehow in the reign of Bhoja himself. Vatsarāja made it.

As the review has already become very lengthy, we stop here, leaving other points to some future note on the subject. We have the highest praise for the work and wish it to be on the shelf of every scholar interested in the evolution of the political and economic life of our country.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE, by U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D. Orient Longmans, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, New Delhi, 1965, pp. 380, Rs. 20.00.

Dr. U. N. Ghoshal stands foremost among the Indian Indologists who, though their literary career falls within a period of intense nationalism, refused to go beyond the evidence at their disposal and produced works which have stood the test of time. While on one side he criticises western scholars like V. A. Smith and Dodwell for their prejudiced views, he is equally unsparing in his criticism of Indian scholars when they base their conclusions on insufficient material.

In this book, which is a thoroughly revised version of his earlier contributions on various subjects of Indian history and culture, Dr. Ghoshal has included five studies in Ancient Indian Historiography, six studies in Ancient Indian Polity, four in Ancient Indian Social, Religious and Political History and two which have been given the title Generalia.

In the first study which concerns Historiography in the Vedas, he gives a very good estimate of the amount and type of history that we can have from the Vedic *Vaṁśa* and *Gotra-Pravara* lists, *Gāthās* and *Nārāśaṁsīs, Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* and the historical

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compositions that one finds embedded in the Vedic *Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas* and the *Upanishads* and concludes it by rightly saying that we have in these "contained in solution, as it were, most of the types of historical workmanship found in later times, especially those of sacred biography and church-history along with systematic royal and dynastic chronicles."

The second study, though entitled "Early Buddhist Historiography" deals in the main with the evolution of the Buddha's biography. Three stages have been marked, the first when the Buddha has been treated as a human teacher, the second when he becomes a Superman and the third when he becomes one among a long series of previous Buddhas. The standard biography thus formed dominated Buddhist art and literature till it was finally superseded by the Docetic ideas of the Mahāyāna Buddhism.

The third study is devoted to the Historical Traditions in the *Purāṇas*. After giving the views of S. N. Pradhan, H. C. Raychaudhuri, G. S. Bose, A. D. Pusalkar and P. L. Bhargava, Dr. Ghoshal offers a few comments on the work done so far. But the study could have been more useful, if the comments had been made fuller and some constructive suggestions given regarding the historical material contained in the *Purāṇas* and the way it could be utilised.

Far more readable and useful is the next study, the Chronicle of King Harsha (*Harshacharita*) by Bāṇa, which combines in itself the work of a literary critic as well as a historian. No reader who goes through the sections on Historical Portraits in Bāṇa's Chronicle and Bāna's Character-sketches can be without the feeling that Bāṇa deserves to be appreciated much more than he has been done so far by professional historians. He writes not merely the account of a ruler but of the way the people lived, moved, thought and acted.

Kalhaṇa's Chronicle of the Kings of Kāshmīr (*Rājataraṅgiṇī*) is taken up next and dealt with in the same manner as the *Harshacharita*. Specially interesting perhaps is his topical analysis of the chronicle under headings like administration, pious foundations and references to poets and scholars. Students of history are bound to appreciate also his critical estimate of Kalhaṇa as a historian and his comparison with Bāṇa.

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The next two studies are on general subjects, viz., Periods of Indian History and Dynamics of Indian History. As regards periodisation, one can entirely agree with his view that the division into Ancient (going up to the last years of the 12th and the early years of the 13th in North India and a century later in the South), Mediaeval, and Modern (beginning with Wellesley's Governor-Generalship) is much better than the outdated and outmoded division into Hindu, Muslim and British periods. In the next study, Dr. Ghoshal takes up four critical periods of Indian history, the post-Maurya, the period of the impact of militant Islam, the period of the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire and the period of the impact of British Imperialism and discusses critically the Indian reaction to these crises.

The discussion of Ancient Indian Polity begins with an essay on the Genius of Indian Polity. V. A. Smith and H. Dodwell thought that republicanism and democratic constitutions could not flourish in India on account of the Indians' peculiar genius. Opposed to this were the views of K. P. Jayaswal, R. C. Majumdar, and A. S. Altekar. Dr. Ghoshal has shown conclusively that the Brahmanical people were not incapable of republican government. But he does not go also to the next extreme and believe that the ancient Indian ruler was "virtually a constitutional slave."

In chapter IX the author takes up the Vedic ceremonies of Royal and Imperial consecration like *Rājasūya, punar-abhisheka, Aindramahābhisheka* and the *Vājapeya* sacrifice and discusses their political and constitutional significance. He concludes by drawing the conclusions, that (1) early Vedic Monarchy was generally in the tribal stage, (2) Kingship was explicitly a human institution, (3) the King was entrusted with the protection of Law (*dharma*) and Brāhmaṇas, (4) though the chief priest, the queens, the officers of the court etc. enjoyed an important constitutional position there is no trace of a popular assembly, (5) the principle of political representation was applied to the important sections of the people and (6) the Vedic polity bore within it the germs of an inter-state system. None would perhaps disagree with these findings of Dr. Ghoshal.

The next study concerns itself with Vedic Political Institutions, the Vedic Kingship, the *Sabhā* and the *Samiti*. He gives good reasons to disagree with the views of scholars who ascribe the rise

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of Vedic Kingship to either the stress of war or patriarchal organisation. He finds also no warrant for the view that the heads of families and clans in the early period had the sole voice in the election of kings. On the evidence of comparative philology he takes the *Sabhā* to Indo-European times, and though like some other scholars he chooses to be indefinite about the functions of *Sabhā* and *Samiti*, he indicates in a general way that the latter was the folk-assembly *par excellencē*. The *Sabhā* which enjoyed equal prestige in the beginning later on got narrowed into the King's Council and Court. When every thing is considered, his views on these subjects appear to be nearer the truth than those advanced by some other scholars of Indian polity like A. S. Altekar, R. C. Majumdar and K. P. Jayaswal.

Chapter XI is devoted to Ancient Indian Republics and Mixed Constitutions. He does not believe that the political *Samghagaṇas* had democratic government; and though he agrees with R. C. Majumdar's view that the republican assemblies had definite rules of quorum etc., he, unlike him, is certain that the power to bring forward proposals rested with the *Senāpati*. In Section B of the same study he shows that it is not proper to rely on the late testimony of Buddhaghosha regarding the Lichchhavi constitution. An account much more reliable is to be had from the *Chīvaravastu* which shows that the Lichchhavi *gaṇa* had a *Senāpati* who was directly chosen by the Assembly. The decrees of the *gana* were issued jointly in the names of the *Senāpati* and the *gaṇa*. The *Senāpati* thus appears to have been the Executive Head, though sovereignty rested with the latter alone and it could, on the death of one *Senāpati*, pass on the office to one wholly unrelated to him. We have also a good discussion about the Sākyan constitution and mixed constitutions of the Indus Valley.

In chapter XII Dr. Ghoshal has studied the Status and Functions of the King's Ministers in the Ancient Indian Polity. The Vedic "king-makers" and "jewel-holders" had, as Dr. Ghoshal points out, a very important position in the Vedic polity; and we have every ground also to agree with his view, as against that of Jayaswal, that the Council of Ministers in Kauṭalya's *Arthśāstra* and in Aśokan edicts cannot be "held to represent the old Vedic folk-assembly or to consist of king-makers backed by the popular will".

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The last chapter in this part deals with Ancient Indian Administrative Nomenclature. The chief words discussed are *rājuka, prādeśika, yuta, rāshṭrīya, kumārāmātya, daṇḍanāyaka, mahādaṇḍanāyaka, khola, mahākaṭuka, khaṇḍapāla* and *khaṇḍaraksha.*

Of Dr. Ghoshal's four studies in Ancient Indian social, religious and political history, the first one deals with Ancient Indian Slavery, which is shown to exist almost throughout the ancient period of our history. He institutes also a very valuable comparison between *Arthaśāstra* and *Dharmaśāstra* on slavery and contrasts the *Dharmaśāstra* and early Buddhist attitudes towards slaves. The rite of head-offering to the Deity in Ancient Indian Literature and Art is another good study in social life. This sort of offering is called *kamala-pūjā* and finds frequent mention in Rājasthānī literature.

The sixteenth study takes up two Historical Characters of Ancient Bengal—Divya and Bhīma and adds a valuable synchronistic table at the end.

The last study in the book discusses the Factors of the Downfall of Ancient Indian Political Civilisation under six heads, Political, Military, Social, Economic, Religious and Literary and Artistic. After considering the views of R. C. Dutt, K. M. Panikkar, R. C. Majumdar and A. L. Srivastava, among some others, he concludes that the general overthrow of India's political independence was not due to any wholesale decadence of our civilisation. But he recognises the importance of the military factor and does not underestimate the effect of Islamic enthusiasm, shock tactics of the invaders and the lack of a great and far-sighted leader. India of that period, as he puts it, "needed a Titan, but she found only pigmies."

There is not a single dull page in this book of approximately 380 pages. But a standard book like this one deserves much better get-up and paper. As the price is Rs. 20.00 it cannot also be treated as a cheap reprint or edition.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

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THE KAVI-KAUMUDĪ OF KALYA LAKṢMINṚSIMHA, Edited by Dr. K. Krishna Moorthy, published by Karnataka University, Dharwar, 1965.

The Kavi-Kaumudī of Kalya Lakṣmīnṛsimha, edited by Dr. K. Krishna Moorthy, the head of the department of Sanskrit, Karnataka University, is a welcome addition to the *anyāpadeśa* or *anyokti* branch of Sanskrit Literature which has been distinguished by such well-known works as the *'Sataka* of Bhallaṭa (the ninth century), the *anyoktyullāsa* of Jagannātha and the *Anyāpadeśaśataka* of Sri Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita (the seventeenth century). In a carefully written Introduction the editor surmises the date of the author to be the 18th century. The present work consisting of two *cantos* and nearly 150 verses, though long popular among the traditional *Pandits* of Mysore, has been edited now for the first time on the basis of two manuscripts available in the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore. The attention of the present editor seems to have been drawn to this work by a paper the late Professor H. L. Hariyappa of Mysore presented to the XIIIth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Nagpur in 1961.

Besides the date of the author, the Introduction touches upon the author's parentage, provenance, personality, and poetical merits. The readers must be grateful for the results, meagre as they are, in the unavoidable absence of trustworthy biographical details. The editor points out with justice that from very early times instances of light literature like the Kavikaumudī have been in vogue. It is but natural that poets lacking in sustained imaginative power demanded by epic poetry should turn to the penning of verses affording room for play of fancy, flair for invective, and deftness of light touches. A perusal of the present work would lead any fair-minded critic to the conclusion stated in sober language by the editor:—the *Kavikaumudī* is entitled to a high place in the galaxy of *Anyokti* poems both by virtue of its form and content. On the other hand, when the editor proceeds to place this work above Bhallaṭa's or Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣitar's poems one recalls the obvious fact *bhinnarucirhi lokaḥ.*

A word about the translation may not be out of place. The difficulty of translating poetry from one language into another is unquestionably there, and it tends to increase with the merits of the original. The resources of an accomplished Sanskrit poet in

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respect of colourful diction, and allusive treatment of the subject matter must make the translation of his work into a modern Western tongue by any but a born poet a most trying ordeal. Some of the verse translations accompanying the text strike me as inadequate or inaccurate; for instance verse 5, Canto I, asks "*who is this* Cuckoo, best of its kind, so spontaneously considerate"? rather than "why is the Cuckoo....so kindly for no reason at all"? The third and fourth lines of verse fifteen admit of variants. *Yaśaḥ,* noted at the bottom of the page, is rightly rejected by the editor as it merely repeats the idea and the word in the fourth line. An emendation, I think, is called for, and '*paraiḥ*' in contrast with *svayaṃ* may be suggested. In any case the translation:—

> "Truly glorious is thy voice
> So enriched by others' choice",

has little to recommend it despite the final jingle. The sense seems to be as follows:—it matters not whether birds are 'self-supported' or 'other-supported', the Cuckoo though 'other supported' is splendid by virtue of its renowned 'sweet-throatedness'. The rendering of verse 79 seems to be an instance of serious error. The author observes, with obvious justice, that whereas the fact that the ocean gave the importunate gods rich treasures is readily forgotten, the incidental pain caused by it through the flames of *hālāhala* is recounted daily, *"tvayākṛtaṃ vedanāṃ smaranti"!* The translation of the passage given on page 33 is wide off the mark. The point sought to be made here is that a far greater degree of accuracy is attainable in prose translations and that, therefore, the ends of scholarship may be better served by adopting that way, especially in regard to texts more or less artificial like the *Kavikaumudī.*

The excellent get-up and very modest price as well as some useful footnotes and an index are other features of the work under review that make it a desirable possession for all lovers of Sanskrit Literature.

DR. A. G. KRISHNA WARRIER

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THE TEACHING OF SANSKRIT, by Prof. K. Ramavarma Raja, M.A. M.Ed., Retd. Principal, S.N. Training College, Moottakunnam, Published by The Sanskrit Education Society, Madras, 1965.

Prof. K. Ramavarma Raja's valuable brochure, '*The Teaching of Sanskrit*', has been prepared under the auspices of the Sanskrit Education Society of Madras, an institution recently started with a view to promoting the cause of Sanskrit education in the South. Of the two kinds of obstacles impeding the spread of Sanskrit education, viz: Governmental policy and the lack of improved methods of teaching Sanskrit, the present work seeks to overcome the latter. As has been justly pointed out in the General Preface by the President of the Society, Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, the intricacies of the many-sided problem of Sanskrit teaching have been systematically examined and notable solutions suggested by the author who, besides being an experienced Sanskrit scholar, is also a retired Principal of the S. N. Training College, Moottakunnam, Kerala. The success of the work was assured from the very outset in view of the author's traditional and modern equipment in the field of Sanskrit scholarship. His experience of traditional Sanskrit Education as it flourished in his own home, Puthen-kovilakam, Koduṅgallūr, "which had been for more than a century, almost a university teaching hundreds of students in all the different branches of Sanskrit scholarship" and his mastery of modern educational methods have enabled him to tackle the subject of the brochure in a truly authoritative manner. The result has been a very useful treatise which should prove a valuable guide to all those who are actively engaged in the teaching of Sanskrit in the upper primary and higher secondary classes.

Some of the views expressed in the book under review may be specifically recommended for the refreshing commonsense that informs them. In common with Greek and Latin, Sanskrit reveals lack of linguistic changes; but in the matter of teaching a language its quality of being a 'living' or 'dead' one is of little consequence. To teach it is necessary to speak it and a language that is spoken is not dead (P. 6). Consistently with such a view, the author points out that the neglect of oral composition in Sanskrit is mainly responsible for the poor results associated with its teaching in schools and colleges. He pleads vigorously for the cultivation of

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the habit of orderly and reasoned speaking and writing of Sanskrit (P. 60). The current neglect in this respect is unjustified; for "within the classroom there is no distinction between a classical and a spoken language" (p. 62). It is due to this fatal neglect of composition, both oral and written, in Sanskrit that even graduates in Sanskrit today lack in the power of self-expression.

Particularly to be recommended are the author's remarks on the teaching of Poetry as an example of perceptive writing (pp. 84 ff).

His plea for the rehabilitation of the time-honoured practice of mastering at least select portions of *Amarakōśa* may be commended for the courage of conviction it embodies as also for the light it throws on the special conditions of Sanskrit teaching. Chapter 13 dealing with Tests and Examination (pp. 118 ff) deserves the sympathetic attention of state authorities so that an immediate revision of existing practices in this respect may be attempted. As regards the author's arguments for making Sanskrit the national language of India, the present reviewer holds that the end in view, however desirable theoretically, is altogether outside the scope of practical realization.

Since *'The Teaching of Sanskrit'* is bound to prove a work of considerable practical utility for teachers actively engaged in the noble work of spreading a knowledge of Sanskrit, its list of errata may be completed in the next edition.

DR. A. G. KRISHNA WARRIER

ESSAYS ON SĀMKHYA AND OTHER SYSTEMS OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY, by Dr. Anima Sen Gupta (Published by M. Sen, 64/65 Moti Mahal, Kanpur), 1964. Pages 170. Price Rs. 5/-.

This is a collection of twenty articles contributed by Dr. (Miss) Anima Sen Gupta to various journals. The subjects cover a wide range from Sāṁkhya to Śūnyavāda, from Vācaspati to Vivekānanda, from textual interpretations to principles of comparative philosophy. The system which claims a major share of the author's attention is Sāṁkhya. She has pointed out the differences between the early Sāṁkhya and the later classical Sāṁkhya, and has

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traced the evolution of what was a theistic trend in the *Mahābhārata* into an atheistic school with Īśvara Kṛṣṇa's *Kārikā* as the basic text; she has also commented on certain special aspects of Sāṁkhya such as the conception of *puruṣa's*, enjoyership, the doctrine of the plurality of *puruṣas*, and the introduction of the idea of God into the system by Vijñāna Bhikṣu. Of some schools other than the Sāṁkhya, Miss Sen Gupta is critical: the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika conception of soul as unconscious is not satisfactory; the Nyāya criticism of 'Śūnya-Vāda' is not fair and just. In the view of the author, Śūnya-Vāda and Advaita are essentially the same, and Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja are closer to each other than ordinarily recognised. Miss Sen Gupta thinks that several of the misconceptions about Indian philosophy would be corrected if it is studied in the context of social, political and religious conditions of the different periods. Contrasting Indian philosophy with Western thought, she observes that in India, philosophy is "neither mere intellectualism nor mere moral purism but includes and goes beyond all" (p. 107); but she believes that a meeting ground can be found for the two philosophical traditions in the realm of values.

A highly debated problem in Indian philosophy is the relationship between Buddhist Idealism and Advaita-Vedānta. Miss Sen Gupta chooses to identify the position of Advaita with that of Mādhyamika Buddhism. It would appear from what she says that the identity is almost complete. Buddhism, according to her, is an offshoot of the great tree of Vedic religion (p. 98). Referring to Śaṅkara, she believes that if he had been born in the age of Nāgārjuna, "perhaps he would have been a staunch Buddhist and not an *Advaita Vedāntist* of the first order" (p. 102); and she goes on to doubt even the sincerity of Saṅkara in his criticism of *Śūnyavāda*, for it seems to her "that Śaṅkara was well aware of the fact that *śūnya-vāda* of Buddhism was not in spirit different from the *Advaita* creed and that is why instead of refuting the doctrine of *śūnya-vāda* on proper logical ground, he took the word *śūnya* in its popular sense of *Asat* and dismissed the theory unjustly in his *Bhāṣya*" (p. 104). In the view of the present reviewer, no purpose appears to be served by ignoring the differences between Advaita and Śūnyavāda. There are, to be sure, identities: which two of the philosophical schools do not hold some doctrines that are similar? But, on certain significant fundamentals, Advaita differs from the Mādhyamika—even a positive interpretation of

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'Śūnya' will not convert it into Brahman, and the world is not 'false' to the Advaitin in the sense in which it is to the Mādhyamika.

Another debatable point made by Miss Sen Gupta concerns Swami Vivekananda's contribution to Advaita. According to her, Swami Vivekananda, contrary to the accepted Advaita position, advocated a combination of action and knowledge as the means to release. This, we are convinced, is not the case. Even for Swamiji, a synthesis of *Karma* and *jñāna* is not the *direct* means to release; in the case of the aspirant, *Karma-yoga* is the means for the purification of mind (*citta-śuddhi*); and in the case of the jñānī, there is no question of any discipline being the means to release, because he has already gained release; what others see in him as his actions are such that they serve to elevate the world. For Advaita love is only a *vṛtti*, the object of which is *ānanda*, says Miss Sen Gupta, whereas for Swami Vivekananda Brahman itself is Love. The difficulty or difference here would appear to be a verbal one. Even as 'knowledge' or *jñāna* has a double sense—knowledge *as* Self and knowledge *of* Self, the latter being a *vṛtti* or mental mode—'Love' also may bear a double meaning—'Love' as the nature of the Self in which case *prema* would be the same as *ānandā*, and Love as a mode of the mind. Even for Swamiji, the two are not the same.

Miss Sen Gupta's present book brings together some of her contributions to topics in Indian philosophy. Our expression of dissent in regard to certain details does not detract from the excellence of her essays. They are well worth a close study, and one would find such study highly rewarding.

DR. T. M. P. MAHADEVAN

BHAGAT LAKSHMAN SINGH—AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, edited by Ganda Singh, published by Sikh Cultural Centre, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 313, Rs. 12.

The work is an autobiography of Bhagat Lakshman Singh—an educationalist of Punjab—which was completed in 1942 but which could not be published earlier, for lack of funds. Prof. Ganda Singh deserves the gratitude of all students of Indian history for editing it, giving it annotated notes and for getting it published.

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This autobiography of an unknown Indian who lived through a momentous period of contemporary Indian History (1863-1944) is an important contribution to biographical literature.

Born of humble parents, receiving education in an American Mission School at Rawalpindi and in Government College, Lahore, Bhagat Lakshman Singh chose education and journalism as his career. He was deeply influenced by the character of Christian Missionaries and he himself acknowledges this in these words: "But to me they are a living force, the memory whereof cheers me up in most dismal of my moments. It is associations such as these that have kept me almost during all kinds of storms in the world of politics and have enabled me to look askance at all endeavours to divide man from man" (p. 171). His wife died at an early age; he did not marry again but spent his life in educational and social reform which became a passion with him. After retirement from the Punjab Government Educational Service, he devoted his time to Sikh Schools in the Punjab and in 1929, he revived the weekly journal *Khalsa* and was for two years (1929-31), its editor and managed it single-handed.

A reader of the work cannot fail to be impressed by his independent personality and the honest and frank way in which he expressed himself throughout life. This frankness is also manifest from this autobiography. He had a tender heart and tears would roll down his eyes at the sight of anyone in misery or pain. He had an unbounded faith in "predestined law", "call it luck, fortune or anything you may" and in God who, he believed, always sustained him through life. His courage was due to faith in God, as he himself says: "And God did bless me, for looking back on my career, I clearly see that but for some such hidden hand, my life's work would have foundered long ago, absolutely wanting as I have been in tact and worldly wisdom" (p. 215).

He was a true Sikh and a staunch follower of Guru Govind Singh. He wrote his life which was published in 1909 under the title: *A Short Sketch of the Life and Work of Guru Govind Singh.* The heroism and practical philosophy coupled with deep humility and faith in God of Guru Govind Singh attracted him in particular. He was a prolific writer on history and religion, being author of *Sikh Martyrs, Baba Nanak, Guru Govind Singh's Idealism, The Sikh and his New Critics, Balm of Life.* His writings reveal that

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he was a defender of Sikh religion, regarding it as an independent creed and not a mere branch of Hinduism.

His work has a great deal of historical value as all autobiographies have. He was a champion of Sikh education and his autobiography sheds valuable light on the expansion of education among the Sikhs. For socio-religious reform movement in the Punjab and in Northern India in general, this work is of great value. The influence of the Christian Missions, of Arya Samaj, of Dev Samaj in shaping the life and thought of the Punjab during a crucial period of its history is vividly clear from the pages of this work. He is very critical of the Arya Samaj; and in places appears even to have allowed his early prejudices to colour his judgment. Yet as throwing inside light on men and events in the social, religious and educational history of the Punjab, the work will be read with interest by all. He shows considerable understanding of the social status, ideas and practices among the Muslims of the Punjab (pp. 228-231).

Here and there he throws sidelights on Sikh history. For instance, he is critical of Sir Lepel Griffin's view of Maharani Jindan, not being a wedded wife of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and shows, with reference to fresh evidence, that Maharaja Dalip Singh was a legitimate son. The author did not join the Punjab's political life but has expressed frank views on it in particular and Indian nationalism in general. He underlines the lack of national unity in the country, criticises Congress methods, and takes the Congress to task for its "stunts and shows". He exposes the "stunt" of Jat unity front put up by Sir Chhotu Ram and others who said that all Hindu, Muslim and Sikh Jats are one as against the non-Jats (p. 229).

The autobiography is thus a good source book for understanding the Punjab's politics and socio-religious developments during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Written in an easy and straightforward style, so characteristic of Bhagat Lakshman Singh, it will be read by all students of Indian history with interest and profit.

AMBA PRASAD

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LIFE AND TIMES OF BIRSA BHAGVAN, by Surendra Prasad Sinha, publishers: Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi. Price Rs. 7.50.

This is a biography of Birsa Bhagvan, a leader of the Mundas, who rose against the British rule towards the close of the last century. He organised his followers admirably and built up a mighty opposition to the authorities. In the course of his struggle with the British Government he employed the weapons of satyagraha and non-violence.

It is important to remember that the Birsa movement was motivated by something more than a political agitation to expel alien rule; it aimed at effecting a socio-religious reformation of the Adivasis.

Appropriately, the first chapter of the book describes the culture as well as the social and economic conditions of the people of Chotanagpur on the eve of the Birsa rising. The origin of the Munda tribes, their kinship structure, patterns of worship, marriage customs, beliefs, traditions and superstitions, as well as their peculiar customs and manners are described. The author shows that the idea that the Mundas living in the hilly fastnesses of Chotanagpur form a backward, peace-loving and ignorant folk is erroneous. Under the British rule the Jagirdars and Zamindars were engaged in reducing the original "holders of villages to holders of the plough". The Christian missionaries supported the cause of the newly converted Christian peasants against the oppressive land lords. Capt. Davies, the Assistant Commissioner, wrote in 1859: "With Christianity has naturally come an appreciation of their rights as original clearers of the soil".

Birsa's rise demonstrates that he was the product of his age. The Mundas were anxious to be liberated from the British and the zamindars and Birsa fulfilled their expectation of giving them a leadership, a religion and a code of life. Above all, he held before them a vision and a prospect of Munda Raj.

Born in 1875, he received the village schooling common to his people, and subsequently he entered the Mission school. Soon he found himself influenced by the agitators among his people. His contact with Anand Panr, who had been steeped in Vaishnava Dharma, influenced the impressionable young man. Soon Birsa

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began to picture himself in the role of liberator-heroes like Rama, Krishna and Christ, who, in their own times had waged a war against ignorance, injustice and oppression.

Soon some followers joined him. The Government was obliged to take note of his movements, and growing alarmed, had him arrested. His first rising in 1895 and second rising in 1899, soon after his release from prison, are all vividly portrayed. While the case against him was being investigated, Birsa had an unfortunate attack of cholera, and he died in jail on 9th June 1900.

For a proper understanding of the nature and significance of Birsa Bhagvan and his revolts, the role he played as a religious leader no less than as a political leader has to be remembered. The Birsa movement which he started in 1895 was essentially reformist, though it had a touch of quasi-political aspect. His role was really to revitalise his moribund society. Birsa appealed to the Mundas to develop purity of thought and action among themselves. The Mundas were called upon to build a better life by repelling economic oppressors and making themselves ceremoniously pure.

As a political leader, Birsa was superb. A great orator, he could sway the masses effectively. He became a popular champion of non-co-operation with the Government and the landlords. He organised a mass following. He was able to rouse his people from deep slumber. It is marvellous that he could achieve so much in such a short space of time. As Sachidananda observes in his Editorial Note, Birsa Bhagvan "shot through the sky of Chotanagpur like a meteor leaving an indelible impact on the minds of men".

Surendra Prasad Sinha, the author of this book, has utilised all the available original sources, and although occasionally there is a tendency to exalt the role played by Birsa, it is on the whole a valuable account. The Bibliography and Glossary are useful.

K. K. PILLAY

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APPOMATTOX: THE LAST CAMPAIGN, by Burleigh Cushing Rodick, publishers: Philosophical Library, New York. Price $. 6.00.

This is an interesting book which deals with the last campaign connected with the American Civil War of 1861. The major part of the book is devoted to an account of the armistice negotiations, the peace terms and the goodwill and friendship that developed between the two armies following the surrender. Therefore, it can be rightly said that this book deals with peace, quite as much as with war.

The author narrates the events connected with the story of Appomattox in a charming manner. It reads like a dramatic folk tale. He has brought to bear his remarkable skill of narrating the story in a simple and clear manner. It is commendable that he is not swayed by emotion which might have led to the sacrifice of accuracy or veracity. He has fulfilled his aim of maintaining the proper ideals 'of objectivity,, balanced judgments and historical truth'. The author has made every effort to base his account upon all the available unpublished manuscript sources.

One of the enduring qualities associated with the events of Appomattox lies in the fact that the bonds established between Grant and Lee and their two armies have ever since been a factor in mitigating the sectional and ethnic conflicts between the two areas. The spirit of Appomattox would seem to be a valuable symbol of national unity. This spirit still exists in such associations as the Sons of Union and Confederate Veterans and the Loyal Legion. Earlier, the decision to recruit Negro troops was greeted with tense feelings on the part of people in the two opposite camps. Most of Lee's troops seemed to oppose the measure. One white soldier wrote: 'From today (when the order to raise negro troops appeared) I date....our downfall as a nation'. This illustrates the tense feelings during the period of the conflict.

Ultimately the hostilities were ended. Monday, 10th April, 1865, marked the first complete day of peace for the two armies. After breakfast, Grant and certain members of his staff rode towards the southern encampment for a courtesy call upon Lee. Other formalities followed in due course.

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The final end came on the Surrender Day of 10th April 1865 at Appomattox. It had abounded in drama while the date itself gave an added touch of dramatic unity to the scene: it was four years to a day from the firing on Port Sumter.

The Appomattox correspondence between Grant and Lee is appended. The bibliography which mentions only the unprinted and published material is impressive.

In spite of the great industry brought to bear on the preparation of the book one cannot help feeling that the theme itself is far too limited in scope to deserve such an elaborate treatment. It is necessary to provide a broad outline of the course of the Civil War which would constitute a proper introduction to the events connected with Appomattox. This introduction is essential particularly for the non-American reader of the book. The production of the book is excellent.

K. K. PILLAY

ASIA IN THE MAKING OF EUROPE, by Donald F. Leach, Volume I, The Century of Discovery Books I & II, published by the University of Chicago Press. Price $.20.00.

These two splendidly produced books constitute the first volume in a series which intend to treat, century by century, the role of Asia in the making of Europe. Volume I is the product of a stupendous effort and provides a foretaste of the rest of the series to follow.

We have frequently heard of the role of Europe in the making of Asia in modern times. But here is an attempt to trace the part played by Asia through commerce, interchange of ideas, etc., in influencing Europeans and their ways of life. The impact of the knowledge of individual Asian countries on European institutions, arts, crafts and ideas is sought to be assessed.

So far, scholars have been emphasising the revolutionary impact of the West upon the traditional cultures of Asia. The author has now taken the bold step of considering how Asia had affected the West. The two books of Volume I, entitled the 'Century of Discovery', deal with what Europe had come to know about Asia

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by 1600. Thus the main theme is the study of European knowledge about Asia for about a century, since the epoch-making advent of Vasco da Gama in India. By way of introduction it provides a summary of Europe's knowledge of Asia from the ancient Greeks to the opening of the route around the Cape of Good Hope.

Beginning with a discussion of this heritage of ideas, in which, undoubtedly myth and fiction were blended, the author proceeds to furnish a detailed history of the opening of new channels of information with the establishment of a direct trade with Asia on a regular basis. From about the 16th century onwards, sailors, merchants and missionaries from all parts of Europe sailed to the East and returned home to tell their countrymen the wonders they had seen. These had their influence on the European ideas and attitudes.

In early times the terms "Asia" and "East" were imprecise as geographical conceptions. The references to the East by Herodotus, Ctesias, of Cnidus, Alexander the Great, and Megasthenes are mentioned. Subsequent to them, the Roman accounts following the expansion of trade relations are specified. The Orient, whether thought of in terms of India or China, was still too far removed physically and spiritually to make a deep impression upon the classical world. India was looked upon by the ancients as the source of the spices, as China was the land of silk.

It is surprising that from the time of Ptolemy until the return of Marco Polo to Venice, more than one thousand years later, very little factual information about India, the East Indies and China was added to Europe's store of knowledge. Medieval writers no doubt added stories from a variety of sources to the vast accumulation of valorous deeds performed by the mythical Alexander the Great. But unquestionably valuable is the elaborate account provided by Marco Polo.

Towards the end of the 15th century, India was "discovered" by Vasco da Gama. This opening of the sea route began to affect Europe's traditional ways of thought and activity.

In the course of time other events quickened the measure of contact and influence. The discovery of the printing press by the mid-fifteenth century made available a constantly increasing num-

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ber of books on Asia.. Particularly after 1550, Europe was deluged with materials of the overseas world. The Jesuit missionary activities have been elaborately described in the Jesuit News letters and Histories. Incidentally these accounts have provided a surprising wealth of information about the people of the East and their ways of life. Some of these accounts were not very balanced or unprejudiced; nevertheless certain details furnished by them are interesting.

The second book commences with a consideration of the influence of South Eastern countries on Europe. The European contact with Malaya, Siam, Burma, Indo-China, Sumatra, Borneo, Java and the Philippine Islands and even with Japan and China during the 16th century and the consequent reactions on Europe are described. It is remarkable that the author has utilised the whole sweep of the literature from Latin, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, German and English sources over the entire course of the 16th century regarding the various countries of South-East Asia and the Far-East. Although manuscripts and oral reports helped shape Europe's view of Asia, the author has chosen to rely exclusively on the published works for the sake of clarity and certainty. His collection and presentation of details is to be appreciated. But in respect of the assessment of the influence of this body of knowledge about Asia on European ideas it seems to the reviewer that there is an inclination to overstate it. Commerce and the contact which it brought on its wake had their influence, but certainly not of a profound and revolutionary character. No doubt the accounts of European travellers and missionaries had their share of influence; but it was limited. This vital fact cannot be lost sight of in a proper assessment of "Asia in the making of Europe". Perhaps in the later volumes a more balanced estimate can be expected. The production of the book is superb.

Several useful maps and other illustrations have been provided.

K. K. PILLAY

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SOUTH-EAST ASIA IN TRANSITION, by B. R. Chatterji, published by Meenakshi Prakasan, Meerut.

This is a collection of Seminar talks, University and Extension lectures as well as articles, all pertaining to the various countries of South-East Asia. They were originally published in various journals, and now they are collected together and presented in the form of a book. Part I of the book is introductory and deals with the main currents of the ancient and medieval histories of this region. From the 1st century to 13th century A.D., we find kingdoms and dynasties bearing Indian names, Brahminic and Buddhist cults and sacred images, inscriptions in faultless Sanskrit showing intimate knowledge of Sanskrit literature. Moreover, we find sculptures and reliefs depicting Indian subjects, all of which clearly indicate the evidence of Indian culture manifesting itself throughout South-East Asia.

A notable chapter in Part I is that entitled 'Decline of Indian influence', in which, the author shows how, till about 1300 A.D., India had exercised a remarkable cultural influence over South-East Asia. This kind of influence without any political control has but few parallells in history.

The causes for the decline of the Indian cultural contact are carefully examined. Perhaps the overweening attitude of the Brahmin priesthood drove the masses to accept the Theravada cult of Buddhism which came from Ceylon *via* Burma. More important was the fact that the degrading Tantric cults which disgraced both Hinduism and Buddhism since the 9th century A.D. led to the collapse of the old order. Hinduism survives today only in Bali, and to a limited extent, in the neighbouring island of Lombok. The most decisive force was the rise of Islamic influence in India from the 13th century which affected Hindu culture in South-East Asia.

Part II consists mostly of lectures delivered and articles contributed by Dr. B. R. Chatterji during the period when he served as Professor and Head of the Department of South-East Asian Studies, in the Indian School of International Studies, Delhi. Some of the papers included in this part are interesting; particularly so are those entitled 'Non-alignment concept' and 'Welfare concept.' How the ideal of the welfare state has been adopted by

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several countries and with what results are critically examined. The author concludes that 'throughout South-East Asia the welfare state concept has come to stay, however long it may take to carry it out. It is part of the Revolution which has been changing this region of the world since the last World War; and as President Soekarno frequently reminds us, the Revolution has not yet been completed.' It is interesting to learn that even military dictators like Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat of Thailand have adopted programmes of welfare projects.

Two chapters on "Recent Studies in the various countries of South-East Asia" contain valuable details regarding the source materials in respect of the various countries.

Part III consists of papers contributed on recent leaders and current political movements in South-East Asia. Some of the current problems connected with Burma, Cambodia, Malaysia, Indonesia and Vietnam are examined. These articles are contributed by various members of the School of International Studies. Perhaps the most interesting chapter is that contributed by Dr. B. R. Chatterji himself, entitled 'Post-war South-East Asia'. He provides a lucid survey of the momentous changes that have taken place in recent years.

Another chapter of his, entitled 'Inconclusive conclusions', is also admirable, though it has to be modified in respect of several details in the face of the rapid changes that are taking place there.

Doubtless the book contains much useful information. But it lacks cohesion. Perhaps this feature is inevitable in a book of this kind, because the chapters are mostly contributed by different authors, with varying equipments. Equally unfortunate is the circumstance that there are far too many repetitions of the same ideas in different parts of the book.

An outline map of South-East Asia is a desideratum.

K. K. PILLAY

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THE INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT, by Nemai Sadhan Bose, publishers: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. Price Rs. 5.00.

The Indian national movement has been a favourite subject of study with historians in recent years. Several outstanding books on the subject have appeared from Indian and foreign scholars. Some writers have adopted a rather sentimental approach to the entire question and consequently have presented overdrawn pictures of events and personalities connected with it. The author of this book under review seeks to provide a brief and balanced account of the Indian national movement for the benefit of students and general readers. It must be acknowledged at once that the author has realised his objective in a large measure. One cannot help feeling, however, that when the literature on the subject has increased considerably, there is a need for a more thorough probe into and a more critical approach to the whole question, than has been attempted in this far too brief a survey.

The book consists of six chapters. Chapter I traces the rise and growth of political consciousness and shows candidly how nationalism in India was the product of Western impact. Doubtless it was Western education that provided the intellectual background to Indian nationalism. Added to this, the modernisation of transport and communication, the influence of the press and the growth of public opinion provided an impetus to national awakening.

Whether the rising of 1857 constituted the first war of independence or it was nothing more than a military revolt has been discussed too often. The author of this book accepts the balanced view that 'any thing like a violent overthrow of British rule was beyond the comprehension of the early agitators', implying that the grievances of the Indian soldiers were the most important factors which led to the conflagration. This seems to be the most acceptable view.

In the subsequent chapters, the rise of nascent nationalism, the emergence of the Indian National Congress as a potent political force and the gathering of the storm under the great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, are narrated at some length. Even a brief account as is sought to be provided in this book could well have attempted

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a critical estimate of the role of Gandhiji, his doctrine of non-violent non-cooperation and its effects on modern India. The sixth and last chapter provides an all too brief description of the final strides to freedom ending with the rise of Free India on 15th August 1947.

The account is quite readable. But it cannot but be repeated that it is far too sketchy. Even the student or the general reader can stomach a fuller and more incisive study. For instance, the circumstances, underlying and immediate, which led to the emergence of Pakistan could have been examined. The Reading List which the author provides is good.

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5. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India,* Delhi.
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